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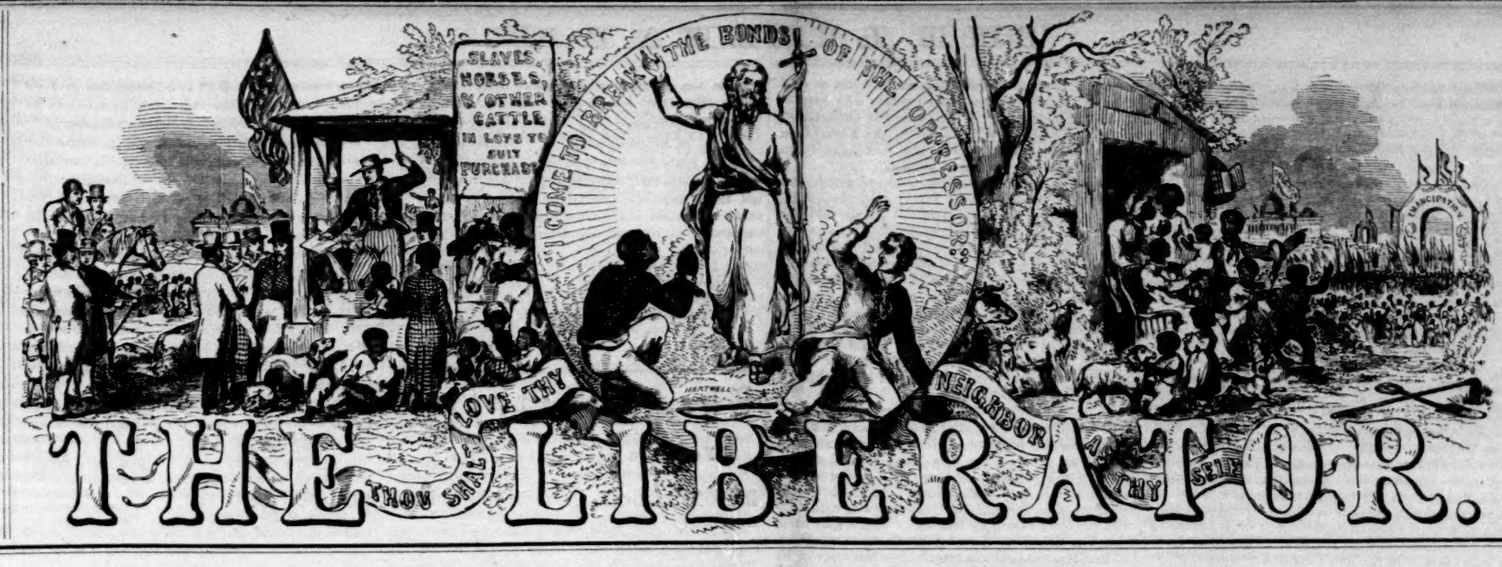
SLAVES, HORSES, & OTHER CATTLE IN LOVE TO SUIT PURCHASERS
I COME TO BREAK THE BONDS OF THE OPPRESSED
THOU SHALT LOVE THY NEIGHBOR AS THY SELF
THE LIBERATOR.

The United States Constitution is "a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell."

☞ "What order of men under the most absolute of monarchies, or the most aristocratic of republics, was ever invested with such an odious and unjust privilege as that of the separate and exclusive representation of less than half a million owners of slaves, in the Hall of this House, in the chair of the Senate, and in the Presidential mansion? This investment of power in the owners of one species of property concentrated in the highest authorities of the nation, and disseminated through thirteen of the twenty-six States of the Union, constitutes a privileged order of men in the community, more adverse to the rights of all, and more pernicious to the interests of the whole, than any order of nobility ever known. To call government thus constituted a Democracy is to insult the understanding of mankind. . . . It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and of slavery. There is no name in the language of national jurisprudence that can define it—no model in the records of ancient history, or in the political theories of Aristotle, with which it can be likened. It was introduced into the Constitution of the United States by an equivocation—a representation of property under the name of persons. Little did the members of the Convention from the Free States imagine or foresee what a sacrifice to Moloch was hidden under the mask of this concession."—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor. Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind. J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

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Refuge of Oppression.

CRUSH OUT ABOLITIONISM.

Extract from a speech delivered by John B. Haskin, late Representative in Congress from the Westchester District, N. Y.:—

The day of the Bull Run disaster I was at Fortress Monroe, and there I saw the "contrabands," as they are called. I talked with many of them, and I could not hear of a single one of their race who had taken up arms against the rebels who have marshaled against the government their bondmen and their fierce and savage Indians. I very much doubt whether the four million of negroes, who are now steeped in slavery and abject misery, are yet fit for freedom. The President has proved, by his action in the matter, that he is a Jackson. He proclaims not only that the Constitution, the Union, and the laws shall be maintained by others, of whatever section, but that he will maintain them himself in every branch of his Administration. * * * * *Let us disregard the theories* of fanatics, North and South. Only a short time since, Wendell Phillips, in Boston, on the anniversary of the birth of Theodore Parker, proclaimed aloud that he was opposed to the Constitution of 1787, and to the Union which has conferred so many blessings upon mankind, because slavery was tolerated. That was as treasonable a declaration as that of Yancey, and other Southern men, that the Southern States have a right to secede. I admire Wendell Phillips as an eloquent orator; yet I must say that for the utterance of his treasonable sentiments against the Constitution and the Union, he ought, as well as the aristocrat, Charles James Faulkner, to be incarcerated in Fort Lafayette. * * I see such men as Wendell Phillips, Lewis Tappan, John Jay, of this county, and who, in years gone by, obtained an ephemeral legal notoriety by issuing writs of *habeas corpus* in behalf of fugitive slaves, Goodell, and others of the Garrisonian abolition school, doing all in their power, like the Breckinridges, to distract our people. They ought to know that their declaration that the Constitution is "a league with the devil, and a covenant with hell," and their anathemas against Lincoln and his Administration, may incite an indignant people to shout, "*A la lanterne!*" "A la Fort Lafayette!" and induce them thus to remove from their midst a band of pestiferous agitators. (Applause.) We owe it to ourselves, we owe it to the country, we owe it to the Southern citizens who have remained devoted to the Union through blood and disaster, that these fanatics, North and South, should be "crushed out." In the South,

"Many dream, withal, the hour is nigh
That gives them back their fathers' heritage."

Do not let them imagine that the North is abolitionized, and that Garrison, and Phillips, and Jay, are exponents of the Northern people. (Cries of "that's right," and applause.)

THE ABOLITION FANATICS.

* * * No one will be at a loss to know who is responsible for so calamitous a state of things. Under the tutelage of an aristocracy in Great Britain, jealous of the success of American institutions, the Garrisons, Tappans, and Leavitts, of thirty years ago, began those machinations which under Greeley, Beecher, Raymond, Cheever, Wendell Phillips, and others, culminated in the creation of a party which denounced the Constitution as "a league with hell, and a covenant with death," and never relaxed its incendiary efforts until the slaveholding States had been goaded into overt acts of treason. Northern fanaticism, fostered by British gold, and the discontent and rebellion in the South which it engendered, are the sources of all our evils, and both are still seeking, at the present hour, to reap the fruits of their iniquitous labors. * * * * * Yet, in the very midst of the inter-State quarrel which is engulphing such vast treasures of life and property, the two factions in the loyal States which, from the outset, have embarrassed the patriotic measures of the President, continue to throw every impediment in the way of the government, and to prevent the recruiting of the Federal army, by every means in their power. For this purpose, the rotten Democratic leaders of the Regency, under Cagger, Richmond, and their affiliates in Tammany Hall, have put forward an anti-Administration ticket, pledged to denunciation of the wisest and most essential steps that have been taken by the President, and calculated to sow the seeds of discontent and insurrection in the rural districts. On the other hand, such Abolition organs as the *Tribune*, *Anti-Slavery Standard*, *Times*, *Liberator*, and *Independent*, are loud in their outcries against the President for not sanctioning the illegal proclamation of Gen. Fremont, and are seeking to undermine by ultra-abolition, anti-constitutional ravings, the popularity which Mr. Lincoln has acquired by the firmness, fairness, and conservatism of his conduct. * * * * The duty of government is unmistakable, with respect to all of those who are seeking to shackle its hands or prevent the free development of the great uprising of patriotism that has been witnessed in the Northern States. The electioneering wirepullers of the Regency, as well as those who control the Abolition organs of the North, should be alike looked after. If Fort Lafayette is not roomy enough to hold them, there are plenty of other strongholds where they may be secured, and the people will applaud the check which will thus be given to the most subtle and active enemies of the great national cause.—*New York Herald.*

PURITAN CHURCH INCENDIARISM.

Dr. Cheever, since his return from Europe, has been laboring with might and main to accomplish the destructive ends of his patrons in England, from whom he received money to keep up his church. Yesterday, he poured forth one of his customary incendiary abolition harangues, calculated to disturb the action of the Federal government, excite insurrection in the loyal States, and afford indirect aid to the rebellion which is distracting the country. The Puritan Church found itself, with its pastor, in such a dilapidated financial position some months since, that Dr. Cheever went abroad for the purpose of raising money to keep his establishment a-going. How much he obtained from his Exeter Hall friends has not been divulged; but he certainly got enough to entitle those who gave him their contributions, in order that his abilities as an ecclesiastical demagogue might not be lost, in the great work of undermining free institutions, and upsetting American nationality, to feel sure that he would employ all his energies in their behalf. He is proving himself to be a faithful agent of our enemies; but he ought, none the less, to be silenced by the authorities, and shut up at Fort Lafayette, or elsewhere, where his capacity for mischief will be more limited. When Beecher, Cheever, Greeley, Garrison, Raymond, and others of that stripe, who are daily reviling our patriotic President, and sowing discord in the Northern States, are put under lock and key, the last obstacle will have been removed to entire unity of feeling and action this side of the Potomac.—*New York Herald.*

Selections.

[From the Atlantic Monthly, for November.]

THE CONTRABANDS AT FORTRESS MONROE.

BY EDWARD L. PIERCE, ESQ.

* * * On the 23d of May, General Butler ordered the first reconnoitring expedition, which consisted of a part of the Vermont regiment, and proceeded under the command of Colonel Phelps over the dike and bridge towards Hampton. They were anticipated, and when in sight of the second bridge saw that it had been set on fire, and, hastening forward, extinguished the flames. The detachment then marched into the village. A parley was held with a secession officer, who represented that the men in arms in Hampton were only a domestic police. Meanwhile, the white inhabitants, particularly the women, had generally disappeared. The negroes gathered around our men, and their evident exhilaration was particularly noted, some of them saying, "Glad to see you, Massa," and betraying the fact, that, on the approach of the detachment, a field-piece stationed at the bridge had been thrown into the sea. This was the first communication between our army and the negroes in this department.

The reconnoissance of the day had more important results than were anticipated. Three negroes, owned by Colonel Mallory, a lawyer of Hampton and a rebel officer, taking advantage of the terror prevailing among the white inhabitants, escaped from their master, skulked during the afternoon, and in the night came to our pickets. The next morning, May 24th, they were brought to General Butler, and there, for the first time, stood the Major-General and the fugitive slave face to face. Being carefully interrogated, it appeared that they were field-hands, the slaves of an officer in the rebel service, who purposed taking them to Carolina to be employed in military operations there. Two of them had wives in Hampton, one a free colored woman, and they had several children in the neighborhood. Here was a new question, and a grave one, on which the Government had as yet developed no policy. In the absence of precedents or instructions, an analogy drawn from international law was applied. Under that law, contraband goods, which are directly [illegible] cannot in time of war be imported by neutrals into an enemy's country, and may be seized as lawful prize when the attempt is made so to import them. It will be seen, that, accurately speaking, the term applies exclusively to the relation between a belligerent and a neutral, and not to the relation between belligerents. Under the strict law of nations, all the property of an enemy may be seized. Under the common law, the property of traitors is forfeit. The humaner usage of modern times favors the waiving of these strict rights, but allows, without question, the seizure and confiscation of all such goods as are immediately auxiliary to military purposes. These able-bodied negroes, held as slaves, were to be employed to build breastworks, to transport or store provisions, to serve as cooks or waiters, and even to bear arms. Regarded as property, according to their master's claim, they could be efficiently used by the rebels for the purposes of the rebellion, and most efficiently by the Government in suppressing it. Regarded as persons, they had escaped from communities where a triumphant rebellion had trampled on the laws, and only the rights of human nature remained, and they now asked the protection of the Government, to which, in prevailing treason, they were still loyal, and which they were ready to serve as best they could.

The three negroes, being held contraband of war, were at once set to work to aid the masons in constructing a new bakehouse within the fort. Thenceforward the term "contraband" bore a new signification, with which it will pass into history, designating the negroes who had been held as slaves, now adopted under the protection of the Government. It was used in official communications at the fort. It was applied familiarly to the negroes, who stared somewhat, inquiring, "What d' ye call us that for?" Not having Wheaton's "Elements" at hand, we did not attempt an explanation. The contraband notion was adopted by Congress in the Act of July 6th, which confiscates slaves used in aiding the insurrection. There is often great virtue in such technical phrases in shaping public opinion. They commend practical action to a class of minds little developed in the direction of the sentiments, which would be repelled by formulas of a broader and nobler import. The venerable gentleman, who wears gold spectacles and reads a conservative daily, prefers confiscation to emancipation. He is reluctant to have slaves declared freemen, but has no objection to their being declared contrabands. His whole nature rises in insurrection when Beecher preaches in a sermon that a thing ought to be done because it is a duty, but he yields gracefully when Butler issues an order commanding it to be done because it is a military necessity.

On the next day, Major John B. Cary, another rebel officer, late principal of an academy in Hampton, a delegate to the Charleston Convention, and a seceder with General Butler from the Convention at Baltimore, came to the fort with a flag of truce, and, claiming to act as the representative of Colonel Mallory, demanded the fugitives. He reminded General Butler of his obligations under the Federal Constitution, under which he claimed to act. The ready reply was, that the Fugitive Slave Act could not be invoked for the reclamation of fugitives from a foreign State, which Virginia claimed to be, and she must count it among the infelicities of her position, if, so far at least, she was taken at her word.

The three pioneer negroes were not long to be isolated from their race. There was no known channel of communication between them and their old comrades, and yet those comrades knew, or believed with the certainty of knowledge, how they had been received. If inquired of whether more were coming, their reply was, that, if they were not sent back, others would understand that they were among friends, and more would come the next day. Such is the mysterious spiritual telegraph which runs through the slave population. Proclaim an edict of emancipation in the hearing of a single slave on the Potomac, and in a few days it will be known by his brethren on the Gulf. So, on the night of the Big Bethel affair, a squad of negroes, meeting our solders, inquired anxiously the way to "the freedom fort."

The means of communicating with the fort from the open country became more easy, when, on the 24th of May, (the same day on which the first movement was made from Washington into Virginia,) the Second New York Regiment made its encampment on the Segar farm, lying near the bridge which connected the fort with the main-land, an encampment soon enlarged by the First Vermont and other New York Regiments. On Sunday morning, May 26th, eight negroes stood before the quarters of General Butler, waiting for an audience. They were examined in part by the Hon. Mr. Ashley, M. C. from Ohio, then a visitor at the fort. On May 27th, forty-seven negroes of both sexes and all ages, from three months to eighty-five years, among whom were half a dozen entire families, came in one squad. Another lot of a dozen good field-hands arrived the same day; and then they continued to come by twenties, thirties, and forties. They were assigned buildings outside of the fort or tents within. They were set to work as servants to officers, or to store provisions landed from vessels,—thus relieving us of the fatigue duty which we had previously done, except that of dragging and mounting columbiads on the ramparts of the fort, a service which some very warm days have impressed on my memory.

On the 27th of May, the 4th Massachusetts Regiment, the 1st Vermont, and some New York Regiments made an advance movement, and occupied Newport News, (a promontory named for Captain Christopher Newport, the early explorer,) so as more effectually to enforce the blockade of James River. There, too, negroes came in, who were employed as servants to the officers. One of them, when we left the fort, more fortunate than his comrades, and aided by a benevolent captain, eluded the vigilance of the Provost Marshal, and is now the curiosity of a village in the neighborhood of Boston.

It was now time to call upon the Government for a policy in dealing with slave society thus disrupted and disorganized. Elsewhere, even under the shadow of the Capitol, the action of military officers had been irregular, and in some cases in palpable violation of personal rights. An order of General McDowell excluded all slaves from the lines. Sometimes officers assumed to decide the question whether a negro was a slave, and deliver him to a claimant, when, certainly in the absence of martial law, they had no authority in the premises, under the Act of Congress,—that power being confided to commissioners and marshals. As well might a member of Congress or a State sheriff usurp the function. Worse yet, in defiance of the Common Law, they made color a presumptive proof of bondage. In one case, a free negro was delivered to a claimant under this process, more summary than any which the Fugitive Slave Act provides. The colonel of a Massachusetts regiment showed some practical humor in dealing with a pertinacious claimant who asserted title to a negro found within his lines, and had brought a policeman along with him to aid in [illegible] retaining the policeman, put both the claimant and claimed outside of the lines together to try their fleetness. The negro proved to be the better gymnast and was heard of no more. This capricious treatment of the subject was fraught with serious difficulties as well as personal injuries, and it needed to be displaced by an authorized system.

On the 27th of May, General Butler, having in a previous communication reported his interview with Major Cary, called the attention of the War Department to the subject in a formal dispatch,—indicating the hostile purposes for which the negroes had been or might be successfully used, stating the course he had pursued in employing them and recording expenses and services, and suggesting pertinent military, political, and humane considerations. The Secretary of War, under date of the 30th of May, replied, cautiously approving the course of General Butler, and intimating distinctions between interfering with the relations of persons held to service and refusing to surrender them to their alleged masters, which it is not easy to reconcile with well-defined views of the new exigency, or at least with a desire to express them. The note was characterized by diplomatic reserve which it will probably be found difficult long to maintain.

The ever-recurring question continued to press for solution. On the 6th of July, the Act of Congress was approved, declaring that any person claiming the labor of another to be due to him, and permitting such party to be employed in any military or naval service whatsoever against the Government of the United States, shall forfeit his claim to such labor, and proof of such employment shall thereafter be a full answer to the claim. This act was designed for the direction of the civil magistrate, and not for the limitation of powers derived from military law. That law, founded on *salus reipublicæ*, transcends all codes, and lies outside of forms and statutes. John Quincy Adams, almost prophesying as he expounded, declared, in 1842, that under it slavery might be abolished. Under it, therefore, Major-General Fremont, in a recent proclamation, declared the slaves of all persons within his department, who were in arms against the Government, to be freemen, and under it has given title-deeds of manumission. Subsequently, President Lincoln limited the proclamation to such slaves as are included in the Act of Congress, namely, the slaves of rebels used in directly hostile service. The country had called for Jacksonian courage, and its first exhibition was promptly suppressed. If the revocation was made in deference to protests from Kentucky, it seems that, while the loyal citizens of Missouri appeared to approve the decisive measure, they were overruled by the more potential voice of other communities who professed to understand their affairs better than they did themselves. But if, as is admitted, the commanding officer, in the plenitude of military power, was authorized to make the order within his department, all human beings included in the proclamation thereby acquired a vested title to their freedom, of which neither Congress nor President could dispossess them. No conclusive behests of law necessitating the limitation, it cannot rest on any safe reasons of military policy. The one slave who carries his master's knapsack on a march contributes far less to the efficiency of the rebel army than the one hundred slaves who hoe corn on his plantation with which to replenish its commissariat. We have not yet emerged from the fine-drawn distinctions of peaceful times. We may imprison or slaughter a rebel, but we may not unloose his hold on a person he has claimed as a slave. We may seize all his other property without question, lands, houses, cattle, jewels; but his asserted property in man is more sacred than the gold which overlay the Ark of the Covenant, and we may not profane it. This reverence for things assumed to be sacred, which are not so, cannot long continue. The Government can well turn away from the enthusiast, however generous his impulses, who asks the abolition of slavery on general principles of philanthropy, for the reason that it already has work enough on its hands. It may not change the objects of the war, but it must of necessity at times shift its tactics and its instruments, as the exigency demands. Its solemn and imperative duty is to look every issue, however grave and transcendent, firmly in the face; and having ascertained, upon mature and conscientious reflection, what is necessary to suppress the rebellion, it must then proceed with inexorable purpose to inflict the blows where rebellion is weakest, and under which it must inevitably fall.

On the 30th of July, General Butler, being still unprovided with adequate instructions,—the number of contrabands having now reached nine hundred,—applied to the War Department for further directions. His inquiries, inspired by good sense and humanity alike, were of the most fundamental character, and when they shall have received a full answer, the war will be near its end. Assuming the slaves to have been the property of masters, he considers them waifs abandoned by their owners, in which the Government as a finder cannot, however, acquire a proprietary interest, and they have therefore reverted to the normal condition of those made in God's image, "if not free-born, yet free-manumitted, sent forth from the hand that held them, never to return." The author of that document may never win a victor's laurels on any renowned field, but, depositing it in the archives of the Government, he leaves a record in history which will outlast the traditions of battle or siege. It is proper to add, that the answer of the War Department, so far as its meaning is clear, leaves the General uninstructed as to all slaves not confiscated by the Act of Congress.

* * * * * *

The negroes who remained, [in Hampton, after the flight of their masters,] of whom there may have been three hundred of all ages, lived in small wooden shanties, generally in the rear of the master's house, rarely having more than one room on the lower floor, and that containing an open fireplace where the cooking for the master's family was done, tables, chairs, dishes, and the miscellaneous utensils of household life. The masters had taken with them, generally, their waiting-maids and house-servants, and had desired to carry all their slaves with them. But in the hasty preparations,—particularly where the slaves were living away from their master's close, or had a family,—it was difficult to remove them against their will, as they could skulk for a few hours and then go where they pleased. Some voluntarily left their slaves behind, not having the means to provide for them, or, anticipating a return at no distant day, desired them to stay and guard the property. The slaves who remained lived upon the little pork and corn-meal that were left and the growing vegetables. They had but little to do. The women looked after their meagre household concerns, but the men were generally idle, standing in groups, or sitting in front of the shanties talking with the women. Some began to serve our officers as soon as we were quartered in the town, while a few others set up cake-stands upon the street.

that some breastworks should be thrown up, and a line was planned extending from the old cemetery northward to the new one, a quarter of a mile distant. Our own troops were disinclined to the labor, their time being nearly expired, and they claiming that they had done their share of fatigue duty both at the fort and at Newport News. A member of Brigadier-General Pierce's staff—an efficient officer and a humane gentleman—suggested the employment of the contrabands and the furnishing of them with rations, an expedient best for them and agreeable to us. He at once dictated a telegram to General Butler in these words:—"shall we put the contrabands to work on the intrenchments, and will you furnish them with rations?" An affirmative answer was promptly received on Monday morning, July 8th, and that was the first day in the course of the war in which the negro was employed upon the military works of our army. It therefore marks a distinct epoch in its progress and in its relations to the colored population. The writer—and henceforth his narrative must indulge in the frequent use of the first person—was specially detailed from his post as private in Company L of the Third Regiment to collect the contrabands, record their names, ages, and the names of their masters, provide their tools, superintend their labor, and procure their rations. My comrades smiled, as I undertook the novel duty, enjoying the spectacle of a Massachusetts Republican converted into a Virginia slave-master. To me, it seemed rather an opportunity to lead them from the house of bondage never to return. For, whatever may be the general duty to this race, to all such as we have in any way employed to aid our armies, our national faith and our personal honor are pledged. The code of a gentleman, to say nothing of a higher law of rectitude, necessitates protection to this extent. Abandoning one of these faithful allies, who, if delivered up, would be reduced to severer servitude because of the education he had received and the services he had performed, probably to be transported to the remotest slave region as now too dangerous to remain near its borders, we should be accursed among the nations of the earth. I felt assured that from that hour, whatsoever the fortunes of the war, every one of those enrolled defenders of the Union had vindicated beyond all future question, for himself, his wife, and their issue, a title to American citizenship, and become heir to all the immunities of Magna Charta, the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution of the United States.

Passing through the principal streets, I told the contrabands that when they heard the court-house bell, which would ring soon, they must go to the court-house yard, where a communication would be made to them. In the meantime, I secured the valuable services of some fellow-privates, one for a quarter-master, two others to aid in superintending at the trenches, and the orderly-sergeant of my own company, whose expertness in the drill was equalled only by his general good sense and business capacity. Upon the ringing of the bell, about forty contrabands came to the yard. A second exploration added to the number some twenty or more, who had not heard the original summons. They then came into the building, where they were called to order and addressed. I had argued to judges and juries, but I had never spoken to such auditors before in a court-room. I told them that the colored men had been employed on the breastworks of the rebels, and we needed their aid,—that they would be required to do only such labor as we ourselves had done—that they should be treated kindly, and no one should be obliged to work beyond his capacity, or if unwell,—and that they should be furnished in a day or two with full soldier's rations. I told them that their masters had said they were an indolent people,—that I did not believe the charge,—that I was going home to Massachusetts soon and should be glad to report that they were as industrious as the whites. They generally showed no displeasure, some even saying, that, not having done much for some time, it was the best thing for them to be now employed. Four or five men over fifty years old said that they suffered from rheumatism, and could not work without injury. Being confirmed by the by-standers, they were dismissed. Other old men said they would do what they could, and they were assured that no more would be required of them. Two of them, provided with a bucket and dipper, were detailed to carry water all the time along the line of laborers. Two young men fretted a little, and claimed to be disabled in some way. They were told to resume their seats, and try first and see what they could do,—to the evident amusement of the rest, who knew them to be indolent and disposed to shirk. A few showed some sulkiness, but it all passed away after the first day, when they found that they were to be used kindly. One well-dressed young man, a carpenter, feeling a little better than his associates, did not wear a pleasant face at first. Finding out his trade, we set him to sawing the posts for the intrenchments, and he was entirely reconciled. Free colored men were not required to work; but one volunteered, wishing, as he said, to do his part. The contrabands complained that the free colored men ought to be required to work on the intrenchments as well as they. I thought so too, but followed my orders. A few expressed some concern lest their masters should punish them for serving us, if they ever returned. One inquired suspiciously why we took the name of his master. My reply was, that it was taken in order to identify them,—an explanation with which he was more satisfied than I was myself. Several were without shoes, and said that they could not drive the shovel into the earth. They were told to use the picks. The rest of the forenoon being occupied in registering their names and ages, and the names of their masters, they were dismissed to come together on the ringing of the bell, at two, P. M.

It had been expressly understood that I was to have the exclusive control and supervision of the negroes, directing their hours of labor and their rests, without interference from any one. The work itself was to be planned and superintended by the officers of the Third and Fourth Regiments. This exclusive control of the men was necessarily confided to one, as different lieutenants detailed each day could not feel a responsibility for their welfare. One or two of these, when rests were allowed the negroes, were somewhat disgusted, saying that negroes could dig all the time as well as not. I had had, some years before, an experience with the use of the shovel under a warm sun, and knew better, and I wished I could superintend a corps of lieutenants and apply their own theory to themselves.

At two, P. M., the contrabands came together, answered to their names, and, each taking a shovel, a spade, or a pick, began to work upon the breastworks farthest from the village and close to the new cemetery. The afternoon was very warm, the warmest we had in Hampton. Some, used only to household or other light work, wilted under the heat, and they were told to go into the cemetery and lie down. I remember distinctly a corpulent colored man, down whose cheeks the perspiration rolled, and who said he felt badly. He also was told came back relieved, and there was no more laborer among them all during the rest of the time. Twice or three times in the afternoon an intermission of fifteen minutes was allowed to all. Thus they worked until six in the evening, when they were dismissed for the day. They deposited their tools in the court-house, where each one of his own accord carefully put his pick or shovel where he could find it again,—sometimes behind a door, and sometimes in a sly corner or under a seat, preferring to keep his own tool. They were then informed that they must come together on the ringing of the bell the next morning at four o'clock. They thought that too early, but they were assured that the system best for their health would be adopted, and they would afterwards be consulted about changing it. The next morning we did not rise quite so early as four, and the bell was not rung till some minutes later. The contrabands were prompt, their names had been called, and they had marched to the trenches, a quarter of a mile distant, and were fairly at work by half-past four or a quarter before five. They did excellent service during the morning hours, and at seven were dismissed till eight. The roll was then called again, absences, if any, noted, and by half-past eight they were at their post. They continued at the trenches till eleven, being allowed rests, and were then dismissed until three, P. M., being relieved four hours in the middle of the day, when, the bell being rung, and the roll called, they resumed their work and continued till six, when they were dismissed for the day. Such were the hours and usual course of their labor. Their number was increased some half dozen by fugitives from the back-country, who came in and asked to be allowed to serve on the intrenchments.

The contrabands worked well, and in no instance was it found necessary for the superintendents to urge them. There was a public opinion among them against idleness, which answered for discipline. Some days they worked with our soldiers, and it was found that they did more work, and did the nicer parts—the facings and dressings—better. Colonels Packard and Wardrop, under whose direction the breast-works were constructed, and General Butler, who visited them, expressed satisfaction at the work which the contrabands had done. On the 14th of July, Mr. Russell, of the *London Times*, and Dr. Bellows, of the Sanitary Commission, came to Hampton, and manifested much interest at the success of the experiment. The result was, indeed, pleasing. A subaltern officer, to whom I had insisted that the contrabands should be treated with kindness, had sneered at the idea of applying philanthropic notions in time of war. It was found then, as always, that decent persons will accomplish more when treated at least like human beings. The same principle, if we will but credit our own experience, and Mr. Rarey too, may with advantage be extended to our relations with the beasts that serve us.

Three days after the contrabands commenced their work, five days' rations were served to them,—a soldier's ration for each laborer, and half a ration for each dependant. The allowance was liberal,—as a soldier's ration, if properly cooked, is more than he generally needs, and the dependant for whom a half-ration was received might be a wife or a half-grown child. It consisted of salt beef or pork, hard bread, beans, rice, coffee, sugar, soap, and candles, and where the family was large, it made a considerable pile. The recipients went home, appearing perfectly satisfied, and feeling assured that our promises to them would be performed. On Sunday, fresh meat was served to them in the same manner as to the troops.

There was one striking feature in the contrabands which must not be omitted. I did not hear a profane or vulgar word spoken by them during my superintendence, a remark which it will be difficult to make of any sixty-four white men taken together anywhere in our army. Indeed, the greatest discomfort of a soldier, who desires to remain a gentleman in the camp, is the perpetual reiteration of language which no decent lips would utter in a sister's presence. But the negroes, so dogmatically pronounced unfit for freedom, were, in this respect, models for those who make high boasts of civility of manners and Christian culture. Out of the sixty-four who worked for us, all but half a dozen were members of the Church, generally the Baptist. Although without a pastor, they held religious meetings on the Sundays which we passed in Hampton, which were attended by about sixty colored persons and three hundred soldiers. The devotions were decorously conducted, bating some loud shouting by one or two excitable brethren, which the better sense of the rest could not suppress. Their prayers and exhortations were fervent, and marked by a simplicity which is not infrequently the richest eloquence. The soldiers behaved with entire propriety, and two exhorted them with pious unction, as children of one Father, ransomed by the same Redeemer.

To this general propriety of conduct among the contrabands intrusted to me there was only one exception, and that was in the case of Joe ——; his surname I have forgotten. He was of a vagrant disposition, and an inveterate shirk. He had a plausible speech and a distorted imagination, and might be called a demagogue among darkies. He bore an ill physiognomy,—that of one "fit for treasons, stratagems and spoils." He was disliked by the other contrabands, and had been refused admission to their Church, which he wished to join in order to get up a character. Last, but not least, among his sins, he was accustomed to beat his wife, of which she accused him in my presence; whereupon he justified himself on the brazen assumption that all husbands did the same. There was no good reason to believe that he had already been tampered with by rebels; but his price could not be more than five dollars. He would be a disturbing element among the laborers on the breastworks, and he was a dangerous person to be so near the lines; we therefore sent him to the fort. The last I heard of him, he was at the Rip Raps, bemoaning his isolation, and the butt of our soldiers there, who charged him with being a "secesh," and confounded him by gravely asserting that they were such themselves, and had seen him with the "secesh" at Yorktown. This was the single goat among the sheep.

On Monday evening, July 15th, when the contrabands deposited their tools in the court-house, I requested them to stop a moment in the yard. I made each a present of some tobacco, which all the men and most of the women use. As they gathered in a circle around me, head peering over head, I spoke to them briefly, thanking them for their cordial work, and complimenting their behavior, remarking that I had heard no profane or vulgar word from them, in which they were an example to us,—adding that it was the last time I should meet them, as we were to march homeward in the morning, and that I should bear to my people a good report of their industry and morals. There was another word that I could not leave without speaking. Never before in our history had a Northern man, believing in the divine right of all men to their liberty, had an opportunity to say what the oppressed people of four slave-I should have been false to all that is true and sacred, if I had let it pass. I said to them that there was one more word for me to add, and that was, that every one of them was as much entitled to his freedom as I was to mine, and I hoped they would now all secure it. "Believe you, boss," was the general response, and each one with his rough gravelly hand grasped mine, and with tearful eyes and broken utterances said, "God bless you!" "May we meet in Heaven!" "My name is Jack Allen, don't forget me!" "Remember me, Kent Anderson!" and so on. No,—I may forget the playfellows of my childhood, my college classmates, my professional associates, my comrades in arms, but I will remember you and your benedictions until I cease to breathe! Farewell, honest hearts, longing to be free! and may the kind Providence which forgets not the sparrow shelter and protect you!

During our encampment at Hampton, I occupied much of my leisure time in conversations with the contrabands, both at their work and in their shanties, endeavoring to collect their currents of thought and feeling. It remains for me to give the results, so far as any could be arrived at.

There were more negroes of unmixed African blood than we expected to find. But many were entirely bleached. One man, working on the breastworks, owned by his cousin, whose name he bore, was no darker than white laborers exposed by their occupation to the sun, and could not be distinguished as of negro descent. Opposite our quarters was a young slave woman who had been three times a mother without ever having been a wife. You could not discern in her three daughters, either in color, feature, or texture of hair, the slightest trace of African lineage. They were as light-faced and fair-haired as the Saxon slaves whom the Roman Pontiff, Gregory the Great, met in the markets of Rome. If they were to be brought here and their pedigree concealed, they could readily mingle with our population and marry white men, who would never suspect that they were not pure Caucasians.

From the best knowledge I could obtain, the negroes in Hampton had rarely been severely whipped. A locust-tree in front of the jail had been used for a whipping-post, and they were very desirous that it should be cut down. It was used, however, only for what are known there as flagrant offences, like running away. Their masters, when in ill-temper, had used rough language and inflicted chance blows, but no one ever told me that he had suffered from systematic cruelty, or been severely whipped, except Joe, whose character I have given. Many of them bore testimony to the great kindness of their masters and mistresses.

Separations of families had been frequent. Of this I obtained definite knowledge. When I was registering the number of dependants, preparatory to the requisition for rations, the answer occasionally was, "Yes, I have a wife, but she is not here." "Where is she?" "She was sold off two years ago, and I have not heard of her since." The husband of the woman who took care of the quarters of Gen. Pierce had been sold away from her some years before. Such separations are regarded as death, and the slaves re-marry. In some cases the bereft one—so an intelligent negro assured me—pines under his bereavement and loses his value; but so elastic is human nature, that this did not appear to be generally the case. The same answer was given about children,—that they had been sold away. This, in a slave-breeding country, is done when they are about eight years old. Can that be a mild system of servitude which permits such enforced separations? Providence may, indeed, sunder forever those dearest to each other, and the stricken soul accepts the blow as the righteous discipline of a Higher Power; but when the bereavement is the arbitrary dictate of human will, there are no such consolations to sanctify grief and assuage agony.

There is a universal desire among the slaves to be free. Upon this point my inquiries were particular, and always with the same result. When we said to them, "You don't want to be free,—your masters say you don't"—they manifested much indignation, answering, "We do want to be free,—we want to be for ourselves." We inquired further, "Do the house slaves who wear their master's clothes want to be free?" "We never heard of one who did not,"

was the instant reply. There might be, they said, some half-crazy one who did not care to be free, but they had never seen one. Even old men and women, with crooked backs, who could hardly walk or see, shared the same feeling. An intelligent Secessionist, Lowry by name, who was examined at headquarters, admitted that a majority of the slaves wanted to be free. The more intelligent the slave, and the better he had been used, the stronger this desire seemed to be. I remember one such particularly, the most intelligent one in Hampton, known as an "influential darkey," ("darkey" being the familiar term applied by the contrabands to themselves.) He could read, was an exhorter in the church, and officiated in the absence of the minister. He would have made a competent juryman. His mistress, he said, had been kind to him, and had never spoken so harshly to him as a captain's orderly in the Naval Brigade had done, who assumed one day to give him orders. She had let him work where he pleased, and he was to bring her a fixed sum, and appropriate the surplus to his own use. She pleaded with him to go away with her from Hampton at the time of the exodus, but she would not force him to leave his family. Still he hated to be a slave, and he talked like a philosopher about his rights. No captive in the galleys of Algiers, not Lafayette in an Austrian dungeon, ever pined more for free air. He had saved eighteen hundred dollars of his surplus earnings in attending on visitors at Old Point, and had spent it all in litigation to secure the freedom of his wife and children, belonging to another master, whose will had emancipated them, but was contested on the ground of the insanity of the testator. He had won a verdict, but his lawyers told him they could not obtain a judgment upon it, as the judge was unfavorable to freedom.

The most frequent question asked of one who has had any means of communication with the contrabands during the war is in relation to their knowledge of its cause and purposes, and their interest in it. One thing was evident,—indeed, you could not talk with a slave who did not, without prompting, give the same testimony,—that their masters had been most industrious in their attempts to persuade them that the Yankees were coming down there only to get the land,—that they would kill the negroes and manure the ground with them, or carry them off to Cuba or Hayti and sell them. An intelligent man who had belonged to Colonel Joseph Segar—almost the only Union man at heart in that region, and who for that reason, being in Washington at the time the war began, had not dared to return to Hampton—served the staff of General Pierce. He bore the highest testimony to the kindness of his master, who, he said, told him to remain,—that the Yankees were the friends of his people, and would use them well. "But," said David,—for that was his name,—"I never heard of any other master who talked that way, but they all told the worst stories about the Yankees, and the mistresses were more furious even than the masters." David, I may add, spite of his good master, longed to be free.

The masters, in their desperation, had within a few months resorted to another device to secure the loyalty of their slaves. The colored Baptist minister had been something of a pet among the whites, and had obtained subscriptions from some benevolent citizens to secure the freedom of a handsome daughter of his who was exposed to sale on an auction-block, where her beauty inspired competition. Some leading Secessionists, Lawyer Hope for one, working somewhat upon his gratitude and somewhat upon his vanity, persuaded him to offer the services of himself and his sons, in a published communication, to the cause of Virginia and the Confederate States. The artifice did not succeed. He lost his hold on his congregation, and could not have safely remained after the whites left. He felt uneasy about his betrayal, and tried to restore himself to favor by saying that he meant no harm to his people; but his protestations were in vain. His was the deserved fate of those in all ages who, victims of folly or bribes, turn their backs on their fellows.

Notwithstanding all these attempts, the negroes, with rare exceptions, still believed that the Yankees were their friends. They had learned something in Presidential elections, and they thought their masters could not hate us as they did, unless we were their friends. They believed that the troubles would some how or other help them, although they did not understand all that was going on. They may be pardoned for their want of apprehension, when some of our public men, almost venerable, bewildered and grope blindly. They were somewhat perplexed by the contradictory statements of our soldiers, some of whom, according to their wishes, said that the contest was for them, and others that it did not concern them at all, and they would remain as before. If it was explained to them, that Lincoln was chosen by a party who were opposed to extending slavery, but who were also opposed to interfering with it in Virginia,—that Virginia and the South had rebelled, and we had come to suppress the rebellion,—and although the object of the war was not to emancipate them, yet that might be its result,—they answered that they understood the statement perfectly. They did not seem inclined to fight, although willing to work. More could not be expected of them, while nothing is promised to them. What latent inspirations they may have remains to be seen. They had at first a mysterious dread of fire-arms, but familiarity is rapidly removing that.

The religious element of their life has been noticed. They said they had prayed for this day, and God had sent Lincoln in answer to their prayers. We used to overhear their family devotions, somewhat loud according to their manner, in which they prayed earnestly for our troops. They built their hopes of freedom on Scriptural examples, regarding the deliverance of Daniel from the lions' den, and the Three Children from the furnace, as symbolic of their coming freedom. One said to me that masters, before they died, by their wills sometimes freed their slaves, and he thought that a *type* that they should become free.

One Saturday evening, one of them requested me to call and see him at his home the next morning. I did so, and he handed me a Bible belonging to his mistress, who had died a few days before, and whose bier I had helped to carry to the family vault. He wanted me to read to him the eleventh chapter of Daniel. It seemed that, as one of the means of keeping them quiet, the white clergymen, during the winter and spring, had read them some verses from it to show that the South would prevail, enforcing passages which ascribed great dominion to "the king of the South," and suppressing those which subsequently give the supremacy to "the king of the North." A colored man who could read had found the latter passages and made them known. The chapter is dark with mystery, and my auditor, quite perplexed as I read on, remarked, "The Bible is a very mysterious book." I read to him also the thirty-fourth chapter of Jeremiah, wherein the sad prophet of Israel records the denunciations by Jehovah of sword, pestilence and famine against the Jews for not proclaiming liberty to their servants and handmaids. He had not known before that there were such passages in the Bible.

The conversations of the contrabands on their title to be regarded as freemen showed reflection. When asked if they thought themselves fit for freedom, and if the darkies were not lazy, their answer was, "Who but the darkies cleared all the land round here? Yes, there are lazy darkies, but there are more lazy whites." When told that the free blacks had not succeeded, they answered that the free blacks have not had a fair chance under the laws,—that they don't dare to enforce their claims against white men,—that a free colored blacksmith had a thousand dollars due to him from white men, but he was afraid to sue for any portion of it. One man, when asked why he ought to be free, replied—"I feed and clothe myself, and pay my master one hundred and twenty dollars a year; and the one hundred and twenty dollars is just so much taken from me, which ought to be used to make me and my children comfortable." Indeed, broken as was their speech, and limited as was their knowledge, they reasoned abstractly on their rights as well as white men. Locke or Channing might have fortified the argument for universal liberty from their simple talk. So true is it that the best thoughts which the human intellect has produced have come, not from affluent learning or ornate speech, but from the original elements of our nature, common to all races of men and all conditions in life; and genius the highest and most cultured may bend with profit to catch the lowliest of human utterances.

There was a very general desire among the contrabands to know how to read. A few had learned; and these, in every instance where we inquired as to their teacher, had been taught on the sly in their childhood by their white playmates. Others knew their letters, but could not "put them together," as they said. I remember of a summer's afternoon seeing a young married woman, perhaps twenty-five years old, seated on a door-step with her primer before her, trying to make progress.

In natural tact and the faculty of getting a livelihood the contrabands are inferior to the Yankees, but quite equal to the mass of the Southern population. It is not easy to see why they would be less industrious, if free, than the whites, particularly as they would have the encouragement of wages. There would be transient difficulties at the outset, but no more than a bad system lasting for ages might be expected to leave behind. The first generation might be unfitted for the active duties and responsibilities of citizenship; but this difficulty, under generous provisions for education, would not pass to the next. Even now they are not so much behind the masses of the whites. Of the Virginians who took the oath of allegiance at Hampton, not more than one in fifteen could write his name, and the rolls captured at Hatteras disclose an equally deplorable ignorance. The contrabands might be less addicted than the now dominant race to bowie-knives and duels, think less of the value of bludgeons as forensic arguments, be less inhospitable to innocent sojourners from the Free States, and have far inferior skill in robbing forts and arsenals, plundering the Treasury, and betraying the country at whose crib they had fattened; but mankind would forgive them for not acquiring these accomplishments of modern treason. As a race, they may be less vigorous and thrifty than the Saxon, but they are more social, docile and affectionate, fulfilling the theory which Channing held in relation to them, if advanced to freedom and civilization.

If, in the progress of the war, they should be called to bear arms, there need be no apprehension that they would exhibit the ferocity of savage races. Unlike such, they have been subordinated to civilized life. They are by nature a religious people. They have received an education in the Christian faith from devout teachers of their own and of the dominant race. Some have been taught (let us believe it) by the precepts of Christian masters, and some by the children of those masters, repeating the lessons of the Sabbath School. The slaveholders assure us that they have all been well treated. If that be so, they have no wrongs to avenge. Associated with our army, they would conform to the stronger and more disciplined race. Nor is this view disproved by servile insurrections. In those cases, the insurgents, without arms, without allies, without discipline, but throwing themselves against society, against government, against everything, saw no other escape than to devastate and destroy without mercy in order to get a foothold. If they exterminated, it was because extermination was threatened against them. In the Revolution, in the army at Cambridge, from the beginning to the close of the war, against the protests of South Carolina by the voice of Edward Rutledge, but with the express sanction of Washington,—ever just, ever grateful for patriotism, whencesoever it came,—the negroes fought in the ranks with the white men, and they never dishonored the patriot cause. So also at the defence of New Orleans they received from General Jackson a noble tribute to their fidelity and soldier-like bearing. Weighing the question historically and reflectively, and anticipating the capture of Richmond and New Orleans, there need be more serious apprehension of the conduct of some of our own troops recruited in large cities than of a regiment of contrabands officered and disciplined by white men.

But, as events travel faster than laws or proclamations, already in this war with Rebellion the two races have served together. The same breastworks have been built by their common toil. True and valiant, they stood side by side in the din of cannonade, and they shared as comrades in the victory of Hatteras. History will not fail to record, that on the 28th day of August, 1861, when the Rebel forts were bombarded by the Federal army and navy, under the command of Major-General Butler and Commodore Stringham, fourteen negroes, lately Virginia slaves, now contraband of war, faithfully and without panic worked the after-gun of the upper deck of the Minnesota, and hailed with a victor's pride the Stars and Stripes, as they again waved on the soil of the Carolinas.

From Macmillan's [London] Magazine.]

OPINION ON AMERICAN AFFAIRS.

DEAR MR. EDITOR:—Your contributors are probably just now scattered, or scattering, over the whole of Europe, if not farther. Having myself been away from town since the 3d, I don't know much of what may have been the talk there about the American war, and the defeat of the Northern army at Manasses Junction. You may have fixed on some one to write on the subject, and in that case you can consign this letter to the waste-paper basket; but, if there is no one told off for this duty, I hope you will let me volunteer, for I do think that the tone of all our leading journals, (so far as I have been able to see them in this delightfully quiet little fishing village) has, with the single exception of *The Spectator*, been ungenerous and unfair, and has not represented the better mind of England. At the same time, under present circumstances, it is better, perhaps, to put what I have to say, in the form of a letter, for which I alone am responsible.

In the first place, then, this defeat, this panic at Manasses Junction, had it been ten times as disastrous as it has been, has not altered in the least, and cannot alter, the rights and wrongs of the great question at issue. A truism, this, no doubt; but, for all that, when one sees the way in which mere success is worshipped here, and the sudden spring which the South has made into popularity in newspaper columns since the last mails, a truism which needs repeating! If the North were right before, they are right now, though defeated. If the Confederates were rebels before, they are rebels still, though triumphant for the moment.

If the United States were to remain a nation at all, they had not only the right, but were bound by every feeling of national honor, to strain every nerve to bring the secessionists to reason. How did they set about the work? They were utterly unprepared, without troops, without officers, without military stores. Their troops had been carefully scattered in small detachments, over the Western and Southern States; the officers were almost all Southerners, who resigned their commissions and joined the rebels; the stores had been accumulated in the Southern forts and arsenals. They waited as long as there was hope of an amicable arrangement; when that hope came to nothing, at the word of the President, the whole North rose as one man. That rising was as grand, as noble a national act, as any which we have seen, or are likely to see, in our generation. It wrung an approval, even from that portion of the press and people of this country who were most exasperated at the unlucky Morrill tariff, and at the menacing attitude which the President's government chose to assume towards us.

Have they flinched from their work? We hear, indeed, of a regiment or two of volunteers, enlisted for three months, who are going home; but the nation has not shown the slightest symptom of turning back. On the contrary, the President, Congress, and the nation, though they may show their resolution in ways which do not please us—which would not be ours, perhaps, under like circumstances—do show the most unflinching resolution to go through with what they have begun. When this is so no longer, it will be time enough to sneer at them.

Then, as to the battle itself, and the panic; what is the fair view of it? By the time this letter is printed, we may, perhaps, have full details; at present, one has nothing beyond the barest possible dispatches, and a set of one-sided accounts, written under strong excitement, to go upon. From these, however, we find that there was a determined struggle of many hours, before the Northern troops were beaten. Jefferson Davis's dispatch begins, "Manasses Junction, Sunday night.—Night has closed upon a hard fought field; our forces are victorious," etc. There is no evidence whatever, as yet, that the troops which were in action did not behave gallantly, but much the other way. Some regiments are reported as "cut to pieces." I think that these are most likely New England or New York regiments, composed chiefly of Americans, and well organized; men who knew what they were fighting for, and how to fight. All accounts agree in the statement that the troops which took the lead in the panic, were a rabble of all nations, Americans, Irish, Germans, and others, who had been hastily thrown together, and half drilled. They will fight well enough yet, when they have been made into regulars; but volunteers, to fight well, must be borne up by enthusiasm for a cause, which here was wholly wanting. And, as to the panic, we may just as well remember what has been so well put in *The Spectator*, that these troops, "in their maddest excitement, did nothing which was not done by the Frenchmen who, within five days, drove the first infantry in Europe back from the hill of Valmy."

The advance was premature, badly planned, and not well executed. This is surely natural enough, at the beginning of such a war. It seems that the Northern press are largely responsible for the movement. And here, again, there are good grounds for anything but contempt and hard words. On the news of the defeat, all the best of the Northern papers have acknowledged their error, and formally undertaken to abstain from military criticism. Our own papers are so little in the habit of acknowledging themselves in the wrong, or of abstaining from criticism, however ill-judged, on any matter under the sun, that I confess to being rather struck by this action of the American journalists.

While speaking of American journals, I may remark that the passages cited in *The Times*, and other papers, which have so disgusted and angered many of us, are from the New York *Herald*, a notoriously Southern paper, and one of the most scurrilous journals in the whole States. At the breaking out of the war, the office of this paper was with difficulty preserved from destruction. Since that time, it has not dared to show its Southern sympathies, but has devoted itself, in the obvious interests of its clients, to the work of embroiling the Northern States with us, by its unscrupulous and lying virulence. I quite admit that the tone of the government and people of the North has been such as deeply to grieve and disappoint every right-minded Englishman; but don't let us saddle them with the frantic slanders of the New York *Herald*. These must be put, in all fairness, to the credit of the South.

Hitherto I have been speaking without immediate reference to the great cause in issue. I believe that, apart from that cause, the North are entitled to our good wishes. They are in the right, apart from all question of slavery. If they really mean to leave "State rights" untouched—if they are not even fighting to keep "the territories" free—if, as we are often told in newspaper articles, slavery has nothing to say to the war at all—I must repeat that they are emphatically right.

But does anybody seriously believe this? Will any serious person get up and say, in his own name, or write in his own name, that the meaning of the whole war—the point really at issue, from first to last—has not been, and is not, (to put it at the lowest) whether slavery shall be confined to its present limits in North America, or allowed to extend as and where it can? That *was* the issue; perhaps it is so still. But those who entered on the war with this as the goal of their hopes and efforts, who would gladly have accepted the limitation of slavery to its present limits a few months or weeks ago, will, unless they are very different men from what I believe them to be—unless the teaching of all history is vain—not be content now with this compromise. The great cause of freedom will draw them, and the nation after them, along paths which they would never have sought for themselves.

It is the battle of human freedom which the North are fighting, and which should draw to them the sympathy of every Englishman, and make him cast to the winds all Morrill tariffs and angry talk about Canada, all bad manners, and hard words. If the North is beaten, it will be a misfortune such as has not come on the world since Christendom arose. An empire will be founded in these Southern States on the simple base of slavery, having no other starting point or principle, whatever, than their right to enslave men of their own flesh and blood. It is of no use to speculate upon what the acts and policy of such a State will be. The world will see that soon enough, should it arise. Meantime the Northern States stand alone between us and it, and the greatest misfortune which can happen to us and to mankind, will be their defeat.

God grant that they may hold on, and be strong! God grant that they may remember that the greatest triumphs have always come, and must always come to men, through the greatest humiliations. God himself could not set men free but through this rule. I am yours very truly,

THOMAS HUGHES.

From the London Spectator, Sept. 21.

THE "SATURDAY REVIEW" ON MRS. STOWE.

LETTER FROM "TOM BROWN."

SIR,—A writer in the *Saturday Review* of last week, in an article on "Mrs. Beecher Stowe's Wounded Feelings," has done me the honor of coupling my name with hers. It does not appear exactly why he has done this. Probably it is due to a letter of mine in a late number of *Macmillan's Magazine*, in which I maintained what no person slightly acquainted with the recent history of the United States could ever have doubted, what the reviewer himself, after Fremont's proclamation, and the other news brought by the last mail, cannot, I suppose, now doubt—that the slavery question is at issue, is in fact the material issue, in this war.

What a Saturday Reviewer may say or think of me is not of the least consequence; nor would it be worth while to notice the tone of that or of other leading English papers on any home question. We are used to them, and their habits of speech and thought, and have become comfortably case-hardened. But this is not so with Americans, and in view of the bitter feeling which has been roused in them by our press within the last six or eight months, and which will probably outlive our generation, I should be glad if you will allow me to say a few words.

Let any Englishman try to put himself honestly in the place of an American, and then read such articles as the one to which I have alluded, and which is by no means an unfavorable specimen of the class, and I venture to say he will no longer wonder at the effect they have had in the United States. They are remarkable for two characteristics: first, for the deliberate imputation of mean motives, and, secondly, for the cruel spirit in which they are written. It may have been right to say unpleasant things, but it cannot be right to say them in the way of all others which will give most pain. To a nation or a man engaged in a struggle for life or death, the tone of flippant and contemptuous serenity is the worst we can adopt, if we must speak. Take this article as a specimen: If an English gentleman felt a call to write remarks on the letter of a very distinguished American lady—a letter which is, at any rate, full of deep sorrow for the estrangement between our two countries—need he have entitled his remarks "Mrs. Stowe's Wounded Feelings"? Ought he to have talked about "a good cry, and a flounce out of the room"?—ought he to have sneered at her appeal to the "great fellowship of Christian freedom"? or to have congratulated her "that she has at least contributed a lucifer match to the conflagration"? This is nothing but saying what he had to say in the most offensive manner, and seeking to inflict, or being utterly careless of inflicting, unnecessary pain. If that be the object of Saturday reviewers, of course there is nothing more to be said. They do their work in masterly style. But the nation is paying somewhat dearly for its penny whistle of smart writing, by means of which many of its leading journalists are doing their best to rouse the hatred of all nations against us.

As to the imputation of the worst motives to the Northerners by the *Times* and the *Saturday Review*, from the first outbreak of hostilities till now, could anything have been more unfair, or more needless? Nations as well as men are two-sided. There is in them both the mean self-seeking nature, and the manly, God-like nature, always struggling the one against the other. To which will you appeal, if you wish to see nation or man go right and act nobly? The surest way to make men act from low motives, is not to give them credit for high ones. Nothing can be easier, and to a certain extent it proves our cleverness to do this. Every action probably has its mean side, and if it should turn out after all that the mean is the stronger in any particular case, our foresight would have been at fault had we not anticipated this. To take the particular instance in point.

We all know that the North has not put the slavery question forward officially. All of us who care to study the subject know why this has not been done. Many of us think the policy unwise, and the reason wholly insufficient. We may think and say that, if persisted in, it will ruin the cause of the North, that it has already given an enormous advantage to the secessionists. But this is quite another thing from crying out, over and over again, "It is naught, it is naught. These Yankees are, after all, only fighting for tariffs and hurt vanity." It was our duty, as the nation which has taken the lead in the abolition of slavery, to have borne all things from, and hoped all things for, those who had gone down into the lists with the great Slave Power; to have given them credit for what they could not, or dared not, yet avow; to have encouraged them to go bravely on in the path they had taken, let it lead them where it might. We have not done this. Our press has chosen to take the other course, to impute the lowest motives, to cull out and exult over all the meanness, and bragging, and disorder which the contest has brought out, and while we sit on the bank to make no allowances for those who are struggling in the waves. The consequence is the state of feeling we see now in all loyal Americans towards England.

I am, yours truly,

THOMAS HUGHES.

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER. 1, 1861.

"I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that the military authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, slavery among the rest. Under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the President of the United States, but the commander of the army, has power to order the universal emancipation of the slaves."

"From the instant that your slaveholding States become the theatre of war, civil, servile or foreign, from that instant the war powers of Congress extend to interference with the institution of slavery in every way in which it can be interfered with, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or destroyed, to the cession of the State burdened with slavery to a foreign power."

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

☞ The following Memorial to the next Congress has been prepared for universal circulation, with the belief that it will readily be adopted by all but those who are in favor of eternizing the accursed system of slavery—who, while pretending to be on the side of the Government, are secretly in hearty sympathy with the Southern traitors—and who would prefer to see the Federal forces every where defeated, the blood and substance of the people expended to no purpose, and the rule of the Southern Confederacy victorious over the whole country, rather than have the oppressed set free under law, even though a satisfactory adjustment is proposed in the case of the so-called loyal slaveholders. Let the most active measures be at once taken to procure the signatures of men and women, voters and non-voters, to this Memorial, in every city, town and village. A MILLION such can be easily obtained by energetic and concerted action—but no time is to be lost. In a note just received from Gerrit Smith, he says—"I am glad to receive this morning from Boston, three copies of a Petition of excellent form. I immediately put my name to one, and will, without delay, have them all in circulation. Let the enclosed draft be accepted as my share of the expense in scattering copies of the Petition over the country."

☞ Printed copies of the Petition, for gratuitous circulation, may be obtained at the Anti-Slavery Offices in Boston, New York and Philadelphia.

MEMORIAL OF THE PEOPLE TO CONGRESS.

"PROCLAIM LIBERTY THROUGHOUT ALL THE LAND, TO ALL THE INHABITANTS THEREOF."

To the Congress of the United States:

The undersigned, citizens of , State of , respectfully submit—

That as the present formidable rebellion against the General Government manifestly finds its root and nourishment in the system of chattel slavery at the South; as the leading conspirators are slaveholders, who constitute an oligarchy avowedly hostile to all free institutions; and as, in the nature of things, no solid peace can be maintained while the cause of this treasonable revolt is permitted to exist; your honorable body, under the war power, the total abolition of slavery throughout the country—liberating unconditionally the slaves of all who are rebels, and, while not recognizing the right of property in man, allowing for the emancipated slaves of such as are loyal to the government a fair pecuniary award, in order to facilitate an amicable adjustment of difficulties; and thus to bring the war to a speedy and beneficent termination, and indissolubly to unite all sections and all interests of the country upon the enduring basis of universal freedom.

☞ *Editors of newspapers are requested to give this Memorial one or more insertions in their columns.*

PRESENT RELATION OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH TO SLAVERY.

The religion of a country should be its most active and vigorous helper in the renunciation of evil-doing and the commencement of practical reform. As far as the vice of slaveholding is concerned, our readers are aware that the churches of our popular religion have been its main bulwark; not only doing nothing to overthrow it, but holding active complicity with it, and placing active obstruction in the way of those who *would* overthrow it.

The Presbyterian church stands third in relative numbers and weight of membership among the sects in this country. Its influence, therefore, has been very great, especially in the West. In no church have the ministers and church-members been more determined in the maintenance of slavery; in none have greater hardness of heart and blindness of mind been manifested, both in the systematic allowance of the worst features of the system, and in the manufacture of arguments by which to maintain its necessity and propriety. As to the arguments, those which Mrs. Stowe has put into the mouths of the Presbyterian ministers depicted in "DRED" are almost a literal copying of the debates in their Presbyterics and Synods: and as to the facts, it was a Presbyterian church in Tennessee which not only refused to take measures against Deacon Netherland for the killing of his aged slave, (on a charge afterwards proved groundless,) but which dismissed its minister for urging the enforcement of "discipline" upon the murderer; and it was the Presbyterian Board of Missions which took into its service Rev. Cyrus Byington, (formerly missionary of the "American Board" at Stockbridge, in the Choctaw nation,) without regard to the fact that he was an accomplice after the fact in the burning alive of one of his church members by another. After the perpetration of this crime in their Choctaw mission, the "American Board" had found "embarrassments and perplexities" pressing heavily upon them, and had made haste to shuffle the whole mission off their hands. But the Presbyterian Board of Missions found neither embarrassment nor perplexity in this state of things; they were accustomed to slavery, *and to its results;* and they made no difficulty about immediately taking under their care that group of slaveholding churches in the Choctaw Nation, and that wolf in sheep's clothing who called himself "pastor" of the Stockbridge church, when the Boston managers of the "American Board" had dropped them as "too hot to hold."

The Presbyterian Church, however, having always, like the other churches, been troubled by a small minority of protestants against slavery, cast an anchor to windward to break the force of remonstrances on that subject as early as in 1818; for in that year they published that famous Declaration which they have ever since appealed to as showing them free from guilt in the matter of slavery. This double-faced and deceitful document used many and strong expressions unfavorable to slavery, *at the same time allowing its indefinite continuance among its ministers and church-members.* Ever since, they have continued to buy, hold, and sell slaves! Ever since, also, when charged with guilt in regard to slavery, they have held up the empty *words* of this Declaration in their defence! So Pilate, after delivering up Jesus to be crucified, washed his hands *to show his innocence!*

Such *has* been the position of the Presbyterian Church since 1818. But times have changed and men are changing. "The world" has made many movements in the direction of anti-slavery. Has the change yet reached the Church? Let us look at the latest evidence.

We joyfully hasten to note a specimen, the only one we have seen, of satisfactory progress in one of the departments of that body, "The United Presbyterian Church." Its "General Synod," comprising sixteen Presbyteries, a body representing considerable wealth and influence, lately held a meeting in Allegheny City, Pennsylvania, and adopted the following, among other resolutions:—

Resolved, That while as Christian men and patriots we zealously and heartily support our National Government in the present war for the maintenance of its integrity, we are not blind to the defects of our institutions, to the defective administration of law, and our sins as a nation: that we trace our present national difficulties mainly to slavery; that by this, and our other sins, . . . we have offended God, and there is no hope for us but in repentance and return to Him; that we recognize that our repentance cannot be acceptable to God, unless we, as a nation, break off our sins, unless we acknowledge Him and His law and providence, and ceasing to countenance this wicked system of slavery, use all the means in our power to carry into effect the law of the Bible, "to loose the bands of wickedness, undo the heavy burdens, to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke," and remembering that righteousness exalteth a nation," and that "sin is a reproach to any people," in accordance with the principles of the Declaration of our National Independence, seek to maintain every man in the enjoyment of his rights as a man.

Resolved, That the Slave Power, by inaugurating this wicked rebellion against the government, has forfeited all claim to any protection or toleration of its peculiar institution; and as the most speedy way of establishing justice, insuring domestic tranquillity, and suppressing the rebellion, we approve of the manumission, by military proclamation, of the slaves; and the confiscation of all the property of those found in arms against the government, in all the military districts in which our commanding officers now have, or may hereafter have, military jurisdiction.

This is very good talk. The general course among those few American ecclesiastical bodies which are far enough advanced to *talk* right, on the subject of slavery, has been to stop there, and let the talk be a substitute for action. But the Synod at Allegheny showed that they meant what they said, by choosing a committee of six to proceed to the city of Washington "for the purpose of pressing upon the attention of the President and his Cabinet, as well as upon other officers of the Government, the duty and necessity of taking immediate steps to put away our national sins, that we may be restored to the favor of God."

This is one happy exception, in the midst of a sect that seems, in the main, devoted as earnestly as ever to the continued toleration of slavery. Every other expression of Presbyterian sentiment that we have seen either confines itself to empty talk, and *mere* talk, more or less unfavorable to slavery, or makes direct or indirect opposition to any interference with slavery by the Government or the army. Take, for example, the resolutions of two Synods, whose annual meetings have just closed, and the editorial position of two Presbyterian newspapers, of wide circulation and influence.

The Synod of New York and New Jersey, in the midst of a series of warmly patriotic resolutions, vigorously supporting the war, falls back upon the old double-faced testimony of the Presbyterian church (above described) as expressive of its sentiment, and recommends prayer instead of work in regard to slavery, as if the duty of removing it belonged to God and not to its own members. Here is its testimony:

"3. That while we do not feel called on to add anything to the repeated testimony of our Church on the subject of slavery, nor to offer any advice to the Government on the subject, still, fully believing that it lies at the foundation of all our present national troubles, we recommend to all our people to pray more earnestly than ever for its removal; and that the time may speedily come when God by His providence shall take it away, that nothing may be left of it but the painful record of its past existence."

The Synod of Illinois talks more strongly, but takes no action. It says—

"We acknowledge the hand of God in the scourge of civil war. We confess that our national forgetfulness of God, our pride and worldliness, our lust of power, and, [illegible] in the sin of slavery and in all those iniquities by which it has been upheld, have merited this our national chastisement and humiliation, and we affectionately enjoin upon all the members of our churches that they give themselves to such confession, repentance, and prayer, as shall contribute to arrest the judgments of God. And especially do we enjoin the most thorough self-examination in reference to the sin of complicity with that gigantic wrong which is the chief occasion of this Divine chastisement; that if there be any among us who, in their personal, social, or political relations, have failed to clear themselves of all responsibility for this iniquity, they may hasten to repent and bring forth fruits meet for repentance."

The New York *Observer* has so openly and uniformly discouraged and opposed all movement towards the abolition of slavery, and has so steadily upheld the American Tract Society, and the American and Presbyterian Missionary Boards, in their complicity with our national sin, that no particular quotation from it is now needed. It moves sometimes directly, and sometimes with serpent windings, but always to the same end; and some of its later *in*direct manifestations have been, the praise of those American members who tried to prevent the "Evangelical Alliance," at its late session in Switzerland, from acting against American slavery; and an elaborate eulogy on Thomas Fowell Buxton, for qualities which it falsely represents as diametrically opposed to those of American Abolitionists.

The New York *Evangelist*, after quoting half a column in direct opposition to emancipation from the intensely pro-slavery *Christian Intelligencer*, adjusts itself on the fence in this fashion:—

"An act of general emancipation is certainly one that would be attended with immense difficulties, and which ought not to be attempted rashly. Yet that it may become an issue of the present war none can deny. Intelligent men are forced to look such a contingency in the face. We have regarded it as a measure which might become a military necessity, to be adopted in the last resort to save our national existence. Yet it is a step which the Government would undertake with reluctance, even though provoked to it by incorrigible Rebellion. Such a Proclamation, as it would change the object of the war, might lead to farther divisions inimical to a speedy return of peace and good order, and perhaps to social disorganizations unfriendly to the welfare of the slave. But even if emancipation is not proclaimed, let the present war be carried on successfully, and it must lead to the destruction of the Slave Power as a dominant influence in our politics, and of all further compromises disastrous to Freedom; and this, we believe, insures the total destruction of the system of slavery at no distant day. But, whatever the final result, we trust it will be so ordered as not to break the unity of the North. Let us keep our own ranks together, and they will march to ultimate victory."

In short, while the great majority of the Presbyterian churches either practise slaveholding or maintain the right of all who please to practise it, most of the remainder seek to occupy a neutral position. They do almost nothing against the great sin and shame of our country; and the little that they *say* seems a feeble attempt to keep up with the irresistible progress of public opinion outside their boundary.—C. K. W.

ENGLISH WRITERS ON THE AMERICAN WAR.

If the voice of England, as expressed by its leading public journals and by individuals of prominent station, has not been as we had reason to expect it would be, in emphatic condemnation of the Slaveholders' Rebellion in this country, and of their purpose to establish a great slaveholding empire on this continent, it is still true that England has furnished some men, in politics and literature, whose generous and comprehensive views, liberal spirit, and courageous rebuke of the prevalent tone of English criticism on American affairs, prove that we of the North may count some of our truest friends among the legislators and educated men of England, even as our fathers, in their day, had no truer, wiser, or braver friends than Chatham, Burke, and others, who in Parliament and elsewhere condemned the war,—infinitely less odious than that now forced upon us—which an overbearing government was then forcing upon these colonies.

Our readers will agree with us, we are sure, that few things have been written or published, on either side the water, which evince a more friendly spirit towards our Northern States, or a clearer understanding of the question really at issue between the North and the South, than the two letters, which we publish this week, by Mr. Thomas Hughes, better known in this country as the author of "School Days at Rugby," and "Tom Brown at Oxford." The former letter was addressed some two months since to the editor of *Macmillan's Magazine*, and was published in that journal; the latter appeared more recently in the London *Spectator*. It gives us pleasure to publish them in connexion, and we thank the writer who has spoken these timely, sensible, and judicious words. There is no mistaking their tone of generous sympathy with all that is noblest and best in our Northern struggle with the Slave Power of the South; while their call to a higher duty, than we have yet suffered ourselves as a people to admit, is as manifestly that of a wise and faithful friend, earnestly desiring our complete and highest success. Such counsel and criticism can do us only good. We need not ask a reading for "Tom Brown's" letters.

In this connexion we also mention the recent lecture "On the Civil War in America," delivered at the Bradford Mechanics Institute to a large audience by W. E. Forster, Esq., member of Parliament for that large and flourishing town. The lecture was fully reported in the London *Times*, and deserves the attention of every American. At present, a brief notice of it is all we can give in our columns. Mr. Forster has evidently studied the American question thoroughly, —more so, we fear, and in a more comprehensive spirit, than have most of the statesmen of England. He, too, discerns with clearness, and sets forth with marked ability and convincing power, the causes of the Southern rebellion, the designs of the Southern conspirators, the immediate motive of the North in resisting them, and the grand result which, in his judgment, must inevitably follow, viz., complete emancipation,—the only justification of the war, and the sure remedy for the disease which has entailed the war upon us. The Boston *Traveller* says of Mr. Forster, that "he has given to his constituents, and through the press to all Britain, the best narrative of the causes of our contest that has appeared in Europe, and one that has not been surpassed by any American work on the subject." The *Journal* says that Mr. Forster, by this lecture, is placed "second only to John Bright in a true comprehension and able discussion of the subject."

Mr. Forster thus explains the apparent and the actual ground occupied by both North and South:—

"Thus it was that the North and South came to be arrayed one against the other; but there was this difference, that whereas the South were fighting avowedly for the right to perpetuate and extend slavery, the avowed object of the North was simply the preservation of the Union. Therefore it was true that the South appeared in the contest to be more pro-slavery than did the North to be anti-slavery. But in reality the North were fighting against slavery as much as the South for it; for if the South succeeded they would establish a slave power such as he had described; if they failed, slavery would receive a blow from which it could not recover."

And thus he speaks of England's duty at this moment:—

"After stating why he believed that, whether the Union was or was not restored to life, slavery had received what would be found to be its death-blow, Mr. Forster closed with a few remarks upon the duty of England, in the course of which he stated that in action this duty was clear—adherence to our rule of absolute non-intervention. We could not interfere for the North; we should insult them if we tried to do so. *It would be an eternal disgrace to us if we interfered for the South and for slavery.* And we must remember that any breach of international law, by infraction of a legitimate blockade or by a premature recognition of the Southern Confederacy, contrary to the international rules which we ourselves had laid down, would be such intervention.

Mr. Forster sat down amid loud cheers, and received the cordial thanks of the assembly for his lecture."

A VOICE FROM THE TOMB.

Among those who fell in the late disastrous battle at Ball's Bluff was a young man of the very highest excellence and promise, combining physical beauty and vigor with high intelligence and nobleness of spirit. Those who know Lieut. William I. Putnam, of Roxbury, speak of him with enthusiasm, as strikingly eminent in all that gives attractiveness to youth, and promise of ripened excellence in coming years. He fell in the act of aiding a brother officer. At his burial, his face preserved its usual aspect of serene cheerfulness.

The last letter written home by young Putnam, before this premature close of his earthly career, contains this remarkable expression, showing that he understood the meaning of our present trouble, and the use, needful to be made, of the contest in which the nation is now engaged. He wrote—I trust this war will never cease, let fall who will fall, until liberty shall be secured for every human being in our country!—This striking fact corroborates the statement made by the *Transcript* respecting him, that "He was one, out of many, of those young soldiers of freedom, whose very education and refinement of intellectual and moral perception led them to engage in the present war."

It is doubly sad to see those die who seem best prepared to live with advantage to their nation and their age. May the last message of this beautiful soul be seed, bringing forth abundant fruit, among his associates in the camp, and his wide circle of mourning friends at home.—C. K. W.

THE EDITOR'S PROGRESS REPORTED.

During Mr. Garrison's absence, those of his friends who do not take the *Standard* will be glad to see the following incident of his visit to New York, which we clip from that paper:—

Public mention of a private entertainment is sometimes not improper, and we drop a line here for the eyes of the personal friends of the pioneer of the anti-slavery cause, just to say that on his recent passage through New York he was honored at a friend's house with a social reception of ladies and gentlemen, who constituted, on their coming together, one of the most intellectual and brilliant evening parties held in this city this fall. Among the guests were many persons of both sexes widely known in literature, many distinguished members of the learned professions, and many of the staunch early friends of the cause, who are now in venerable years. Mr. Garrison appeared in greatly improved health, full of a fine animation, exhibiting (as everywhere) his characteristic mirthfulness and seriousness.

A pleasant incident gave quite a parliamentary turn to a portion of the entertainment. Mr. Oliver Johnson showed to the company the first bound volume of *The Liberator*, for the year 1831—then a little paper not bigger than a pane of glass in a parlor window—also reading Harrison Gray Otis's contemptuous description of the garret where it was edited and printed, and the beautiful poem which Lowell wrote upon that as a text. Of course, Mr. Garrison was not permitted, thereupon, to go clear of a speech, and a happy speech he made—full of good feeling,

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES, BY THE PENNSYLVANIA A. S. SOCIETY.

Since the last anniversary of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, a violent disruption of the American Republic having taken place, through the treasonable withdrawal of nearly all the Slaveholding States, which have organized themselves into an independent Southern Confederacy, the objects of which are the interminable prolongation of slavery, the subversion of the Government, and the overthrow of all free institutions, by a wickedly aggressive and desperately malignant war on their part, it devolves upon this Society clearly to define its position in relation to the present anomalous state of things, so as to keep its testimonies unimpaired on the one hand, and to prevent needless misconception and injurious misrepresentation on the other.

This Society has nothing to retract or modify in regard to its object, its principles, or its measures. Always animated by a spirit inflexibly loyal to the cause of freedom, and having for its sole object the triumph of that cause universally, without regard to race, color or condition, it finds no language adequate to express its abhorrence of a system which consigns four millions of the inhabitants of the land, with all their posterity, to the most degrading and intolerable bondage—ranking them in the category of personal and real estate, property to be used and transferred like household goods, brutes to be driven to unrequited toil, and recognizing their common humanity only for the purpose of making them strictly responsible to their tyrannical masters in all things, under terrible pains and penalties. In any other land, however dark and benighted, the toleration of such a system would indicate complete deadness to shame and deep corruption; but, in a country like ours, claiming to be the most enlightened on earth, boasting of its religious and political privileges, and glorying in an instrument which declares it to be a self-evident truth, that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with an inalienable right to liberty, it presents an exhibition of shameless hypocrisy and blood-red criminality, wholly unparalleled—especially, attempting, as it does, to find its justification in the highest religious sanctions, alike under the Jewish and the Christian dispensation. To seek to perpetuate such a system is the most comprehensive iniquity that can be perpetrated; to make any compromise with it is always full of guilt and danger; to demand its immediate and total abolition is the dictate of justice and humanity.

The principles of this Society remain unchanged, because they are unchangeable; being based upon human nature and the law of the living God, and in defence of which, prophets have been put to death, and apostles crucified, and martyrs carried to the stake, and patriots executed upon the scaffold. Its measures have ever been rational, and well-adapted to promote the righteous object in view, and limited to the exercise of a peaceful, lawful, constitutional right of protest and reformation, using only the weapons of reason and argument, for the sole purpose of establishing the freedom of all classes upon an enduring basis.

To the malicious attempt, which has been so extensively made, to identify the secessionists of the South with the abolitionists of the North, this Society unequivocally affirms that no two classes can be more unlike, or more opposed to each other, in spirit, design and action. The former aim to give unlimited range and lasting perpetuity to slavery and the slave-trade: the latter are for the immediate liberation of all in bondage. The former are under the control of an unappeasable selfishness, a satanic aspiration for universal dominion, an imperious spirit that would "rather reign in hell than serve in heaven," and striving to break down, as intolerable nuisances, all the free institutions of the North. The latter are animated by an unselfish and all-embracing philanthropy, seeking the welfare of the oppressor as well as the oppressed, and desiring to put an end to all sectional animosities and divisions by the proclamation of universal freedom. The former contemptuously trample the Declaration of Independence beneath their feet, and boldly give the lie to its self-evident truths; the latter heartily subscribe to that Declaration, as defining the origin, nature and scope of human rights. The former are armed with bowie-knives and revolvers, and ready to stab, shoot, or hang any abolitionist who may venture upon Southern soil; the latter resort to no other weapons than those of entreaty, warning and rebuke, meeting all calumnies with patience, all insults with forbearance, all outrages in the spirit of martyrs. In short, the former are desperately bent upon mischief, and "full of treason, stratagems and spoils"; the latter are laboring disinterestedly to save the country from ruin, and fill it with the abundance of peace, by extracting the only root of bitterness.

As it respects the tremendous conflict now going on between the forces of the Federal Government and those of the Southern Confederacy, this Society, and the abolitionists in every section of the country, are united in the sentiment, that the rebellious attitude of the former finds no justification whatever, but is marked by every feature of malignity, treachery, murderous violence, and savage barbarity; that it has for its object, not only the perpetuation of the inhuman system of slavery, but the subversion of free institutions universally; that all the allegations brought against the Government, by the conspirators, of designing to interfere with slavery in an unconstitutional manner, are without foundation; that, therefore, the Government is simply acting on the defensive, and endeavoring to execute its constitutional prerogatives, in accordance with the original bond of Union.

But this Society, believing the cause of this bloody strife to originate solely in slavery, and in the haughty spirit of tyrannical mastery engendered by it, deems it the height of infatuation, on the part of the Government and people, to think of bringing back the rebellious portion to loyalty under the Constitution, and effecting a peaceful settlement of difficulties, while leaving untouched the source of all those desolating judgments which are now sweeping through the land. Nor is this a desirable result. Like causes produce like effects. Neither the old compromises, nor any new ones, can produce harmony, or avert divine retribution. Our nation is reaping as it has sown. "Ye have not proclaimed liberty every man to his brother, and every man to his neighbor; therefore, I proclaim a liberty for you, saith the Lord, to the sword, to the pestilence, and to the famine." To avert still heavier judgments, therefore—to make a real union of all the States and the preservation of a free government possible—it becomes the solemn duty of the nation to decree the immediate and total abolition of slavery. The powers of the General Government are ample for this purpose, on its own plane of action. In anticipation of the present state of things JOHN QUINCY ADAMS said, years ago, in his place in the House of Representatives of the United States,—laying it down as the law of nations,—"From the instant that the slaveholding States become the theatre of war, civil, servile or foreign, from that instant the war powers of Congress extend to interference with the institutions of slavery in every way in which it can be interfered with. . . . . Not only the President of the United States, but the commander of the army, has power to order the universal emancipation of the slaves." From this weighty authority, there is no intelligent dissent. The Government, therefore, is invested with the power to "proclaim liberty throughout all the land to all the inhabitants thereof," in the midst of the exigencies of war, and to maintain its supremacy over the whole country. Those exigencies now fully justify the immediate exercise of that power. The rebellion is precisely where slavery exists as a cherished institution; it is the product of slavery; the whole slave population are made the efficient instruments of the rebels to overturn the Government, and to consummate their treasonable designs. The enemy is yet at the gates of the Capital, threatening its security and keeping the Government in continual peril. All the property held in common by the nation, within the limits of the Southern Confederacy, has been perfidiously seized, and turned to the support of this vast slaveholding conspiracy. Hundreds of millions of property, the amount of Southern indebtedness to the North, have been basely confiscated. The nation is bleeding at every pore. The wail of bereavement is heard in every quarter; for the slain are rapidly multiplying, and every day witnesses fresh victims falling on the battle-field, struck down by the weapons of the minions of an impious slaveholding oligarchy. The daily expenditures forced upon the Government by this war are of a startling character, and must constitute a fearful aggregate in the end, if the rebellion be not speedily put down. To save this ruinous waste, to stop this shocking effusion of blood, to make a solid peace possible, nothing is wanted but the total abolition of slavery. If this be not done, then there is no hope of reconciliation or prosperity, and the doom of the nation is sealed. In the language of President Lincoln, uttered before his inauguration, "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this Government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. It will become all one thing, or all the other." Again:—"This is a world of compensations; and he who would *be* no slave must *have* no slave. Those who deny freedom to others, deserve it not for themselves; and, under a just God, cannot long retain it." The President has it now in his power, as had Pharaoh of old, to let the oppressed go free, so that the land may have rest, and the retributive judgments of Heaven be removed far from it. If he refuses to improve this sublime opportunity to do the grandest and most beneficent work of the age, —whether through weakness or perversity, —then more than the guilt of Pharaoh will rest upon his head; and, instead of preserving the Government he has sworn to defend, he will but have hastened its downfall by refusing to strike the only blow necessary for its perpetuity. But if he will declare freedom for all, wherever the flag of the nation advances, the flames of civil war will be speedily extinguished, the smiles of an approving Heaven secured, and his memory will be crowned with lasting honor.

THIRD FRATERNITY LECTURE.

The eloquent discourse of George William Curtis on "National Honor" held an immense audience in breathless attention for an hour and a half on Tuesday evening. The lecture had brilliancy, wit, pathos, exquisite beauty, but, to our surprise, as well as regret, it lacked "the one thing needful" in our present crisis.

In the portion of this discourse touching upon slavery, the speaker deliberately argued that Government should, at present, interfere with that institution no further than the necessities of war actually demand. He advised the confiscation of the slaves of rebels, whether or not they were engaged in warlike operations, and showed the absurdity of the distinctions which some have striven to draw upon that point, indulging the rebels in proportion to the extent of their slaveholding, and allowing the claim to property in human beings, when the claim to all other property has been justly forfeited. But he would have slavery touched no further than this during the present war, *unless* ill success on our part, or new and unforeseen emergencies, shall render further action against it indispensable to our success in the war. *If* peace can only come by the emancipation of all the slaves, he would say "Amen!" But if the necessity for emancipation did not manifestly appear in this form, he would postpone all thought and action upon that subject until complete triumph over the rebellion should have been secured.

The lecturer dwelt much, and strongly, on the importance of *saving* the national honor. In our judgment, national honor is a thing yet to be *attained* by this slaveholding nation. The war offers a most auspicious opportunity to *commence* the work of attaining it. To slight this opportunity, to postpone to a superlatively uncertain to-morrow this chance to throw off the greatest of evils and secure the greatest of blessings, seems to us the madness that precedes destruction. Procrastination here will be the thief of more than time.

We had hoped from Mr. Curtis something better than an endorsement of the great delusion under which the Republican party are now laboring. It was some satisfaction to find that the ideas above objected to were heard in silence by the immense audience, while enthusiastic applause followed those expressions which bore strongest against slavery. We subjoin the *Journal's* report:—

"Mr. Curtis stated his subject to be 'National Honor.' Honor he defined as manhood, and the obligations of honor to do all that a man can and ought. After pointing out its origin, and the conditions of mind and feeling which go to strengthen and maintain it, he considered it more particularly in connection with our present national crisis. We in this country have not only the conditions and necessities of nationality, but we have the political union, which is the source of patriotism. It is this which makes us now, instead of being a scattered and drifting fleet like the Spanish Armada, as a single ship from whose deck the tempest-tossed mariners behold walking toward them on the water, the spirit of Union, saying, 'It is I, be not afraid!' (Applause.)

The sentiment of patriotism seems to have been but newly awakened, and a year ago we might well have doubted its existence. But the defection of traitors, the accumulated defalcations of Cabinet ministers, and at last the open attack on our flag, had roused our people to action. The movement was of the people alone, for they had little to expect from an administration which groaned out a cry for fasting and prayer, when it should have given a stentorian command to aim and fire. (Applause.)

We are compelled to believe that there can be but one nation, and the duty of every citizen is to aid in maintaining the Government and put down the rebellion. To save the honor of the nation we must take up arms, not to change the form of government, but to defend it as it is. This war is a struggle between two spirits, which mutually strive for the ascendancy in this country. We must meet it as the mariner meets the whirlwind. The masts must go; the cargo and the treasure must be thrown over, if need be, to save the ship. This is not a war of subjugation or emancipation; but if peace can only come by conquering the rebellious section—Amen! If peace can only come by the confiscation of the property of all rebels—Amen! If peace can only come by the emancipation of the slaves—Amen! (Loud and continued applause.)

The right to do this is undeniable. How and when this right should be used is a far different question. It is easy to say that slavery is the cause of the war, and that it must be destroyed; but the question of to-day is how to heal the wound it has made; and believing that the war must inevitably lead to emancipation, he would rather see it the result of the grave deliberations of earnest men in time of peace, than have the decree written with the point of the sword upon a drum-head. But if they force us to answer which is most precious, Government or slavery, they shall have the answer. The mower sweeps across the field to gather the harvest, and not to destroy snakes and vermin; but if the snakes and vermin come in his way they will be destroyed. (Applause.)

After peace shall be restored, our national honor will each us to inquire how can another rebellion be rendered impossible. He believed the rebellion to be the result of a settled purpose on the part of the slaveholders, and this was the policy necessary to preserve the system of slavery. When we fully understand that slavery is identical with treason, we shall devote ourselves religiously to the great question of emancipation. It must be the result of conviction, and not of any party emotion. Already the main support of the slave system—the cotton monopoly—is passing from their hands. How and by what plan emancipation is to be accomplished will be the next question for the nation to settle.

Our national honor will teach us to guard with more jealous care the duties of our citizenship, to mingle more in politics, and carry out in our own lives the principles of a popular government, instead of leaving all the work of elections, except the mere depositing of a vote, in the hands of others who will do our work.

He closed with an eloquent apostrophe to the spirit of peace which would yet come to a restored nation. We may get blows under which our country will sicken and reel. We have not yet seen the depth to which we must sink; but as we go down our eyes shall see light on the mountain-tops. Eyes must weep: God dry them. Hearts must break: God comfort them. But I see the genius of our country transfigured on the mount of the future; in her right hand is justice, and in her left hand peace."

☞ The call of the Quartermaster of the army for all blankets for the soldiers that can be spared from families, is but feebly responded to, though the Government pays the full market value for them.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY HISTORY OF THE JOHN BROWN YEAR: being the Twenty-seventh Annual Report of the American Anti-Slavery Society. pp. 337.

Though long delayed by circumstances not within the control of the Society or its Committee, this Report is altogether welcome and timely. It was not a light or brief work to prepare a fitting history of this —one of the most eventful years in our country's history. So far as the question of slavery is concerned, —and who does not know that that has for years entered into nearly every government measure, into all the political parties, all the religious sects and societies, and more or less into all business and social life, —that history is most thoroughly given in this Report. It is much the most elaborate and complete report the Anti-Slavery Society has ever published; and no injustice is done to any one of the valuable series of Reports which have preceded it, when we say that upon none of them have so much time, labor and careful investigation been expended as upon this. With much pains to bring it within a moderate compass, its length has unavoidably been extended to more than double the average of former reports; but we are sure that no one who has occasion to read or refer to it will regret its length; while the manifest care which has been bestowed upon it, under the influence of a feeling of more than usual responsibility for the absolute accuracy of every point, will commend it to every person, of whatever shade of opinion, as one of the most valuable and reliable historical documents ever published in our country.

The report is now for sale at the Anti-Slavery Office, 221 Washington Street, and will be found at several of the book-stores in the city.

"WOMAN'S RIGHTS under the Law: In Three Lectures, delivered in Boston, January, 1861, by Caroline H. Dall, author of 'Woman's Right to Labor,' 'Historical Pictures Retouched,' &c. — Boston, Walker, Wise, & Company. 245 Washington St., 1861."—pp. 164.

This excellent work is dedicated "To the friends of forsaken women throughout the world;" and it is so dedicated "because the lives of such women are the legitimate result of the spirit of the law." Its three lectures treat, 1, of the Oriental Estimate of Women, and the French Law in regard to them; 2, of the English Common Law; and 3, of the United States Law, with some thoughts on Human Rights.

A respectable clergyman once told us—as his reason for refusing to sign a remonstrance against the Fugitive Slave Law—"I am a law-abiding man." We are often tempted to maintain a lazy acquiescence in the theory that the law is, on the whole, right and best, because this theory excuses us from the great (and the thankless) labor of reforming it. In this book Mrs. Dall has shown us the evidence that, in regard to women, as in some other points, "the law of God, positive law and positive morality, sometimes coincide, sometimes do *not* coincide, and sometimes *conflict*." A thorough assurance of this must needs precede any hearty and persistent efforts at a reform in the law. American women greatly need information upon the points here treated of. Those who know the wide intelligence, diligence, and conscientious faithfulness of Mrs. Dall, will need no assurance of her ability to treat this subject in a satisfactory manner. To others it may be said, first, that technical accuracy has been secured in it by the revision of manuscript and proofs by the Hon. Samuel E. Sewall; and next, that this book, in beauty of form, clearness of statement, and depth of interest, is a worthy companion to the works previously published on other branches of the subject, by the same author."

"THE HARBINGER OF HEALTH: containing Medical Prescriptions for the Human Body and Mind. By Andrew Jackson Davis. New York: A. J. Davis & Co., 274 Canal St., 1861.—pp. 428.

This book, written in the peculiar dialect of spiritualism, treats of various matters in physiology, pathology, and the treatment of disease, recommending the judicious use of human magnetism in nearly all cases of disordered health, and especially the use of one's own magnetic energy on different parts of his own body. A large portion of it consists of diagnoses and prescriptions, and a copious alphabetical index assists the student to find both diseases and remedies. The writings and the life of Andrew Jackson Davis assure us that this work is an honest attempt to benefit the sick and suffering. It is for sale by Bela Marsh, at 14 Bromfield street.

☞ "A Northern Printer" (whom we understand to be George K. Radcliffe of Haverhill) has printed Charles Sumner's admirable speech at the Worcester Convention on a broad sheet, intending to circulate it among those soldiers who have gone to the war from Haverhill, and among the families in Essex County and beyond it, as far as the means are furnished him. Let those help him who would redeem the Republican party from the disgrace of disregarding the counsels of their best and ablest man.

ANOTHER ACT OF TREACHERY. The only arrest for treason in Iowa has been that of George Frane of Rochester, Cedar county, who, it is alleged, wrote a letter to the rebel sheriff of Bates county, Mo., informing him that Coppic, of John Brown notoriety, had left Northern Missouri for the purpose of recruiting men in Iowa, and was to go back to the army on a certain day by the Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad, and that he should be intercepted at all hazards. The proof of such information being sent is satisfactory. Coppic and his company were intercepted, and he and one of his men killed, and several others were severely wounded. Frane has confessed privately that he gave the information above specified; but his own admission was not held legally sufficient to convict him, and he was discharged. He is, however, a fugitive from the popular wrath.—*Journal.*

☞ Perhaps the foregoing explains the origin of that diabolical outrage in Western Missouri, the partial burning of the Little Platte River bridge, so as to make it give way under a train of cars containing nearly one hundred passengers. Coppic perished at that place. The incidents were given in the *Liberator*, Sept. 13th, and on the 27th a sketch of Coppic's life was given by his friend Mr. Hinton.

☞ We learn that A. T. Foss held a very large and impressive meeting at Brattleboro', Vt., last Sunday evening. Rev. William H. Channing was present, and made an earnest and congratulatory speech.

IMPORTANT ORDER IN REGARD TO SLAVES. The following order was sent out with the commanders of the forces accompanying the Naval expedtion:—

WAR DEPARTMENT, Oct. 14, 1861.

SIR,—In conducting military operations within States declared by the proclamation of the President to be in a state of insurrection, you will govern yourself, so far as persons held to service under the laws of such States are concerned, by the principles of the letters addressed by me to Major-General Butler on the 30th of May and 8th of August, copies of which are herewith furnished to you. As special directions, adapted to special circumstances, cannot be given, much must be referred to your own discretion, as Commanding General of the expedition.

You will, however, in general avail yourself of the services of any persons, whether fugitives from labor or not, who may offer them to the National Government; you will employ such persons in such services as they may be fitted for, either as ordinary employés, or, if special circumstances seem to require it, in any other capacity, with such organizations, in squads, companies, or otherwise, as you deem most beneficial to the service. This, however, not to mean a general arming of them for military service. You will assure all loyal masters that Congress will provide just compensation to them for the loss of the services of the persons so employed. It is believed that the course thus indicated will best secure the substantial rights of loyal masters, and the benefits to the United States of the services of all disposed to support the Government, while it avoids all interference with the social systems of local institutions of every State, beyond that which insurrection makes unavoidable, and which a restoration of peaceful relations to the Union, under the Constitution, will immediately remove. Respectfully, SIMON CAMERON, Secretary of War.

Brig. Gen. T. W. SHERMAN, commanding expedition to the Southern coast.

BATTLE OF BALL'S BLUFF.

The last *Liberator* contained the brief and incorrect notice that first arrived here respecting the disastrous battle of Edwards Ferry, or, more properly, of Ball's Bluff. Numerous contradictory reports about it have since been in circulation. We give, below, an abstract of the official report, lately received, from Edward W. Hinks, Colonel of the 19th Massachusetts Volunteers, commanding Baker's Brigade.

Col. Hinks, proceeding to Harrison's Island to support Gen. Baker, found that he had been killed, and that everything was in deplorable confusion, his column having been entirely routed, and being then in precipitate retreat, throwing away their arms, deserting their killed and wounded, and leaving many prisoners in the hands of the enemy. Col. Hinks at once took the command, and endeavored to restore order, sending the 19th Massachusetts Regiment to the front, on the Virginia side of the Island, to oppose the anticipated advance of the enemy. He commenced the gathering of the wounded, and the rescue of small parties of our defeated troops on the Virginia shore, but the boats used for crossing thither had been swamped and lost in the precipitate and disorderly retreat, and the small boats and rafts proved miserably insufficient. No further Federal reinforcements came to the Island.

The Confederate Commander, being asked by a flag of truce, refused permission to remove the wounded, except a few whose injuries seemed fatal. He also refused to let the Surgeon cross and treat the wounded, except on condition of his remaining a prisoner. A party of ten men, however, were graciously permitted to bury the dead on the Virginia shore at night.

During the night, a retreat was effected, in good order and without accident, to the Maryland shore, assisted by a portion of the Massachusetts 2d, on this side the river.

Col. Hinks's estimate of loss, among the 2,100 Federal troops engaged, is—Dead, 150; Wounded, 250; Prisoners, 500. *Large* numbers of wounded and unwounded were drowned when the boats were swamped, as well as in attempts to swim the river during the night. The bodies of the killed were rifled of all valuables by the enemy.

Lieut. Col. Palfrey, commanding the 20th Regiment Massachusetts Volunteers, reports to Gov. Andrew that seven companies of the above Regiment, with a portion of the Massachusetts 15th, were also engaged on the Virginia shore, greatly outnumbered by the enemy, and suffered very serious losses, amounting nearly to fifty per cent. of the 318 rank and file engaged, and more than that proportion of the officers.

The following despatch from Lt. Col. Palfrey, of the Mass. 20th, has been received at the State House. It gives an accurate account of the casualties to the officers of that regiment:—

TAKEN PRISONERS.—Col. Wm. Raymond Lee, of Roxbury; Major Paul J. Revere, of Boston: First Lieut. George B. Perry, of Boston, Adjutant Charles L. Pierson, Salem, and Assistant Surgeon Edward H. Revere, of Boston.

DROWNED.—Lieutenants Alois Babo, of Boston, and Reinhold Wesselhoeft, of do., both of Company C., probably drowned.

KILLED.—Lieut. W. L. Putnam, of Roxbury.

WOUNDED.—Captain Ferdinand Dreher, of Boston, of Company C., badly wounded. Captain George A. Schmitt, of Cambridge, badly wounded. Lieut. Jas. J. Lowell, of Cambridge, of Co. E., slightly. He is doing well. Lieut. O. W. Holmes, Jr., of Boston, Co. A., slightly. Doing well. Capt. John C. Putnam, of Boston, Co. A., right arm gone. Doing well. All the other officers are safe.

WASHINGTON, October 28.

ORDERS ISSUED, THANKING THE TROOPS ENGAGED IN THE BATTLE AT BALL'S BLUFF. The following Order has been issued:—

"*Headquarters Army of the Potomac,*
Washington, Oct. 26, 1861.

General Order, No. 32. The Major General commanding the Army of the Potomac desires to offer his thanks and to express his admiration of their conduct, to the officers and men of the detachments of the 15th and 20th Massachusetts, 1st California and Tammany regiments, and 1st U. S. Artillery and Rhode Island Battery engaged in the affair of Monday last, near Harrison's Island. The gallantry and discipline there displayed deserved a more fortunate result, but situated as those troops were, cut off alike from retreat and reinforcements, and attacked by an overwhelming force of from five to seven thousand, it was not possible that the issue could be successful. Under happier auspices such devotion will insure victory. The General commanding feels increased confidence in the troops composing Gen. Stone's division, and is sure when next they meet the enemy, they will fully retrieve this check, for which they are not accountable.

By order of Major General McCLELLAN.
S. WILLIAMS, Ass't Adj't General."

☞ The Washington correspondent of the New York *Tribune* says that the death of Col. Baker of Oregon has caused great mourning in the family of President Lincoln. It was the desire of the President and Mrs. Lincoln that the body of Col. Baker should be taken to the White House and placed in the East Room, but that course was not practicable.

TWO THOUSAND REBELS ROUTED BY THREE HUNDRED OF FREMONT'S BODY GUARD. The following is a special dispatch to the St. Louis *Republican:*

"*Head-quarters Western Department, Government Station, Missouri, Oct.* 26. The following dispatch has been received, announcing a most brilliant victory at Springfield by Gen. Fremont's Body Guard, numbering 150 men:—

NEAR BOLIVAR, Oct. 26. *General:* I respectfully report that yesterday, at 4 P. M., I met at Springfield about 2000 rebels formed in line of battle. They gave me a very warm reception, but your guard, with one feeling, made a charge, and in less than three minutes the enemy were completely routed. We cleared the city of every rebel and retired, it being near night and not feeling able to keep the place with so small a force.

Major White's command did not participate in the charge. I have seen charges, but such brilliant bravery I have never seen and did not expect. Their warcry, 'Fremont and the Union,' broke forth like thunder. (Signed,) CHARLES SEAGONI,
Major Commanding Body Guard."

Col. John M. Richardson, who rode over to the vicinity of Springfield last evening, says Seagoni was guided to the town from Jefferson to the Mount Vernon road, by Judge Owens.

The rebel camp was just out of the city. Seagoni was compelled to pass through a lane and let down a number of fence rails before he could charge on the foe, thus drawing their fire. There was a good deal of street firing in Springfield and from the houses.

Two secessionists who ran out of their houses and fired at the Body Guard were killed. Seagoni was advised of the force of the rebels, but he was determined to have a fight. Col. Pierce, said to be from Arkansas, commanded one of the rebel regiments.

It is thought the cause of the increased rebel force at Springfield was the large amount of plunder gathered there for some weeks past, which, it is stated, they intended to take South with them, but which will of course fall into our hands. The loss of either side is not stated.

OFFICIAL ACCOUNT OF THE NAVAL ENGAGEMENT BELOW NEW ORLEANS. *Washington, Oct.* 25. Commodore McKean's despatches have been received at the Navy Department. Captain Pope of the Richmond, reports that the hole made in her by the ram was two feet below the water line, and five inches in circumference. At the first alarm the men coolly repaired to quarters, and as the ram passed abreast of the Richmond the entire port battery was discharged at her, with what effect it was impossible to discover owing to the darkness.

A red light was shown as a signal of danger, and the squadron got under weigh in a very few minutes, having slipped their cables. The Richmond covered the retreat. The Preble went over the bar, while the Richmond and Vincennes grounded. The enemy now coming down the river, with five steamers, commenced at us, while we returned the fire from our port battery and rifled gun on the poop, our shot however failing short, while their shell burst on all sides of us, and several passed directly over the ship.

At 9.30 Commander Handy, of the Vincennes, mistaking my signal to the ships outside the bar to get under weigh, for a signal for him to abandon his ship, came on board the Richmond with all his officers and a large number of the crew, the remainder having gone on board the Water Witch. Commander Handy, before leaving his ship, had placed a lighted slow match at the magazine. Having waited a reasonable time for an explosion, I directed Commander Handy to return to his ship with his crew, and to start his water, and if necessary at his own discretion to throw overboard his small guns, for the purpose of lightening the ship, and to carry out his kedge with a cable to heave off by.

At ten A. M. the enemy ceased firing, and withdrew up the river. During the engagement a shell entered our quarter port, and one of the boats was stove by another shell. Capt. Pope reports that the Vincennes and Richmond are both afloat, and the leak of the latter so reduced that the small engines keep the ship free. It is only temporary, and the ship will have to go to some place and have three planks put in.

I have received rifled guns, and have placed the 32-pounder on the forecastle, and a 12-pounder on the poop. Could I have possibly managed this ship in any other way than keeping her head up and down the river, I would have stopped at Pilot-town to give battle, but this was found too hazardous, owing to her extreme length. The attempt was made, but a broadside could not be brought to bear without running the ship ashore.

☞ The affair near Lebanon, Mo., in which eighty-eight Federal soldiers attacked and routed at least four hundred rebels, was truly a gallant one, and its details, as sent by telegraph, have been confirmed. It occurred on the 13th ult. A Rolla correspondent of the St. Louis *Democrat* says of this action:—

"The number killed was greater than was reported. A detachment was sent to bring in the dead. The enemy were found on the field with a flag of truce, engaged in the same duty. Sixty-two of the enemy's dead were buried, and one was killed on our side. Four of the rebel wounded have since died, making a total of sixty-six killed on their side. A captain and lieutenant were killed. The Rev. Mr. Ernest, a Methodist priest of Lebanon, is reported among the dead. We took eighty-one guns, mostly double-barreled shot guns, which were broken around the trees by our men.

The enemy were posted on foot as infantry, with their horses in the rear, held by every fourth man. Captain Switzler fired a pistol in order to draw the enemy's fire. As was intended, the rebels fired their pieces, killing Tucker through an opening in the brush. Our men then made the charge, rushing forward with loud yells, which terrified the rebels' horses, and caused a regular stampede. Short work was made. Some managed to get on their horses. One hundred and ten of the latter fled to Lebanon riderless. The enemy were pursued a mile and a half; thirty-four prisoners were taken. Lieut. Montgomery sabred six men, and a negro servant killed two and brought in one prisoner. The rebels numbered four hundred, while but eighty-eight of our men were in the engagement—about one to five. The achievement was a brilliant one. The rebel prisoners said they did not expect to fight all officers; in their innocence they believed that because our men all had swords, they were consequently officers."

☞ The taking of Lexington, Mo., on the 16th ult. by Major White, was done by 150 men. The rebel garrison numbered 400, under the notorious Capt. Shelby. Major White sent forward a spy and discovered the strength of the enemy. The surprise was so complete that the rebels knew nothing of the approach of our force until a volley was poured in upon them. They threw down their arms in the greatest confusion and fled in every direction. Our men pursued them for eight or nine miles and took a great quantity of pistols, guns, knapsacks, and other articles, which they threw away to facilitate their flight.

Besides these, they found two pieces of cannon at the post. There are now there more than one hundred of the rebels, sick or wounded.

Portions of the town are utterly laid waste, and there is actual suffering among the inhabitants for food and the necessaries of life. The stores and many dwellings have been stripped. The rebels took everything they could carry, and wantonly destroyed much that they were obliged to leave.

FEDERAL VICTORY AT ROMNEY, VIRGINIA. *Washington, Oct.* 27*th.* Lieut. Gen. Scott to-day received the following despatch, dated Romney, Va., Oct. 26, P. M. "In obedience to your orders, I moved on this place at 12 o'clock last night, attacked the enemy at 3 o'clock this afternoon and drove in their outposts, and after a brilliant action of two hours, completely routed them, taking all their cannon and much of their camp equipage, and many prisoners. Our loss is but trifling, but cannot say to what extent.

Brig. Gen. B. F. KELLY, Commanding."

THE MESSAGE OF GOVERNOR HARRIS, OF TENNESSEE. The Nashville *Union* of Oct. 9th, contains the message of Gov. Harris, delivered to the Legislature on the day preceding. We make the following extracts from it:—

"It is due to Tennessee to say, and it may be said without disparagement to other States, that our people have done more in the work of raising, organizing, arming and equipping an army than was ever before accomplished by any State in the same length of time. Having no military organization, and almost without arms, and destitute of authority to raise troops or procure arms until the passage of the act of the 6th of May last, within less than two months from the passage of this act thirty thousand volunteers were organized and thrown into the field.

Too much credit cannot be awarded to the patriotic people of the State for the alacrity with which they have rushed to the standard of their country upon the first intimation of necessity. I have been compelled to decline the services of a large number tendered in excess of the demand. In addition to the provisional army of the State, a number of regiments have been raised for Confederate service, making in the aggregate thirty-eight infantry regiments, seven cavalry battalions and sixteen artillery companies, which Tennessee has contributed to the common defence."

THE GREAT NAVAL EXPEDITION.—Three days ago information appeared in all the papers, of an immense naval expedition, which had long been in secret preparation, and which was to sail from Annapolis, with sealed orders, for some part of the South.

Its departure was first delayed by a storm, and then a day was given to rehearsal, at Fortress Monroe, of the complicated movements of landing with surf-boats. Meantime, it was reported that the clerk of the commanding officer had absconded, carrying with him the maps, charts, plans and sealed orders of the expedition. This rumor was afterwards contradicted. This fleet actually sailed from Fortress Monroe, on Tuesday morning, Oct. 29th. How unspeakably greater, every way, would the effect of this expedition have been upon the enemy, had its departure been preceded by a proclamation of Freedom to the Slaves.

☞ Lt. Porter, of the Powhatan, reports, arrived at Maranham Sept. 24th, only five days after the Sumter had left. The latter had cruised for two or three days at the mouth of that harbor to overhaul the brig Maria, expected from New York. The Governor of Maranham treated the officers of the Sumter with every courtesy, promising them that they might sell the Maria there if she was captured, and supplied her with coal, but was unwilling to do the same by the Powhatan. On entering Maranham, the Sumter got ashore and lost her false keel, and when she left was leaking. She left under sail, having housed the smoke stack. She had taken no prizes since the Abbie Bradford, and it was understood that her motto was to burn, sink and destroy, particularly Boston and Eastern vessels. Lieut. Porter left Sept. 28th, and put into St. Thomas Oct. 9, where his last despatches are dated.

THE FRIENDLY SLAVE. One of the officers of the Massachusetts 20th, who was in the battle at Ball's Bluff from early morning until late at night, states that he did not leave the Virginia shore until 9 P. M., when he found a friendly negro, who, in the hour of darkness, ferried him across in his skiff to a place of safety upon the Maryland shore.

☞ The General Sherman who has command of the coast expedition is the Sherman of artillery renown, in connection with the battery of his name. The Sherman in command in Kentucky is the brother of Senator Sherman, and when the rebellion broke out was residing in Louisiana, from which he hastened to offer his services to the Government.

COMPLETION OF THE PACIFIC TELEGRAPH—THE FIRST MESSAGE.

ST. JOSEPH, Mo., Oct. 25. The Pacific Telegraph was completed to San Francisco yesterday, and was in fine working order last evening. The first through message transmitted over the line was from Stephen J. Field, Chief Justice of California, in the absence of the Governor, to Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States. In consequence of the line being closed East of here before we received notice of the line working last night, we were obliged to hold the message, with others, over night. The enterprise is a complete success. Press despatches and private business forwarded from here up to 12 o'clock last night, were laid before the public in California this morning.

CLEVELAND, Ohio, Oct. 25. The following message from H. W. Carpenter, President of the California State Telegraph Company was received to-day:

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 25. *To J. H. Wade, President of the Pacific Telegraph Company:* We greet you across the Continent. You beat us by a day or two, but we forgive you, and for it receive our congratulations. (Signed) H. W. CARPENTER.

NEW YORK, Oct. 25. The overland telegraph to California is completed. The following dispatch was received this afternoon:—

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 25. *To the Mayor of New York:* San Francisco to New York sends greeting, and congratulates her on the completion of the enterprise which connects the Pacific with the Atlantic. May the prosperity of both cities be increased thereby, and the projectors of this important work meet with honor and reward. H. F. TESCHEMAKER,
Mayor of San Francisco.

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 25. An announcement has just been made of the completion of the last link of the Overland Telegraph. The Pacific to the Atlantic sends greeting, and may both oceans be dry before a foot of all the land that lies between them shall belong to any other than our united country.

The completion of the last link of the American Telegraph to this city connects Cape Race with the Golden Horn, traversing nearly 5000 miles with one continuous wire, and bringing those two points within two hours' telegraphic time of each other.

The next westward extension of the line will be via Behring's Straits to the north of the Amoor river, to which point the Russian government is already constructing a line, commencing at Moscow.

One very important feature in this project is the fact that when the line to the Amoor is finished from both sides, the whole world will be in telegraphic connection with but forty miles of submarine cable across Behring's Straits.

Pending the completion of the extension to the Amoor, it is proposed to establish at this port a line of mail steamers to China and Japan, bringing the Chinese mails and news to this city in twenty days. From hence the news will be telegraphed to New York or Cape Race, so as to reach Europe in advance of the despatches sent via the Red Sea route.

T. STARR KING'S GREETING FROM CALIFORNIA.—Rev. T. Starr King sends the following note of greeting from distant California:—

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 24th—8 P. M. *Editors Transcript:* All hail! A new bond of Union between Pacific and Atlantic! The lightning now goeth out of the West and shineth even to the East! Heaven preserve the Republic; and bless old Boston from hub to rim! TH'S. STARR KING.

NEW YORK, Oct. 26. The following is the reply of the Mayor of New York to the despatch of the Mayor of San Francisco:—

"New York returns her greetings to San Francisco. Let the union thus so happily consummated between them ever remain unimpaired. The Union forever, whether between the East and the West or the North and South. Let it be continued and preserved."

GREETINGS TO THE PRESIDENT FROM CALIFORNIA.—*Washington, Oct.* 27*th.* Since Friday, when the Pacific and Atlantic Telegraph was opened, the President has received a number of dispatches over the line. These embrace the announcement from the President of the Telegraph Company that the line is completed, and express a hope that it may be a bond of perpetuity between the States of the Atlantic and those of the Pacific.

Gov. Downey of California expresses in the name of the people of that State their congratulations at the completion of the noble enterprise that places them in immediate communication with the Capital and with their fellow-citizens in the East, and expressing the hope that the golden links of the Constitution may ever unite us a happy and free people.

The President and Secretary of the Pioneers, the oldest organization on the Pacific coast, send greetings to the President of the United States as a society loyal, and as a State loyal. They pray God to save one and indivisible our glorious Union.

Leland Stanford sends the following: "To-day California is but a second's distance from the National capital. Her patriotism with the electric current throbs responsive with that of her sister States, and hold civil liberty and union above all price."

The Grand Division of the Sons of Temperance sends the following:—

"To the President of the United States greeting: Liberty, Union and Temperance, one and inseparable forever. By order. JOHN WADE, P. G. W. P."

The Mayor of Stockton transmits the following:—"Stockton sends greeting to your Excellency, with the assurance that she is true to the Constitution and the laws, and for the thorough crushing out of rebellion."

Gov. Nye, in behalf of the Territ

Poetry.

From the Atlantic Monthly for November.

THE WASHERS OF THE SHROUD.

BY JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

Along a river-side, I know not where,
I walked last night in mystery of dream;
A chill creeps curdling yet beneath my hair,
To think what chanced me by the pallid gleam
Of a moon-wraith that waned through haunted air.

Pale fire-flies pulsed within the meadow mist
Their halos, wavering thistle-downs of light;
The loon, that seemed to mock some goblin tryst,
Laughed; and the echoes, huddling in affright,
Like Odin's hounds, fled baying down the night.

Then all was silent, till there smote my ear
A movement in the stream that checked my breath:
Was it the slow plash of a wading deer?
But something said, "This water is of Death!
The Sisters wash a Shroud,—ill thing to hear!"

I, looking then, beheld the ancient Three,
Known to the Greek's and to the Norseman's creed,
That sit in shadow of the mystic Tree,
Still crooning, as they weave their endless brede,
One song: "Time was, Time is, and time shall be."

No wrinkled crones were they, as I had deemed,
But fair as yesterday, to-day, to-morrow,
To mourner, lover, poet, ever seemed;
Something too deep for joy, too high for sorrow,
Thrilled in their tones, and from their faces gleamed.

"Still men and nations reap as they have strawn,"—
So sang they, working at their task the while,—
"The fatal raiment must be cleansed ere dawn:
For Austria? Italy? the Sea-Queen's Isle?
O'er what quenched grandeur must our shroud be drawn?

"Or is it for a younger, fairer corse,
That gathered States for children round his knees,
That tamed the wave to be his posting-horse,
The forest-feller, linker of the seas,
Bridge-builder, hammerer, youngest son of Thor's?

"What make we, murmur'st thou, and what are we?
When empires must be wound, we bring the shroud,
The time-old web of the implacable three:
Is it too coarse for him, the young and proud?
Earth's mightiest deigned to wear it; why not he?"

"Is there no hope?" I moaned. "So strong, so fair!
Our Fowler, whose proud bird would brook erewhile
No rival's swoop in all our western air!
Gather the ravens, then, in funeral file,
For him, life's morn-gold bright yet in his hair?

"Leave me not hopeless, ye unpitying dames!
I see, half-seeing. Tell me, ye who scanned
The stars, Earth's elders, still must noblest aims
Be traced upon oblivious ocean-sands?
Must Hesper join the wailing ghosts of names?"

"When grass-blades stiffen with red battle-dew,
Ye deem we choose the victors and the slain:
Say, choose we them that shall be leal and true
To the heart's longing, the high faith of brain!
Yet here the victory is, if ye but knew.

"Three roots bear up Dominion: Knowledge, Will,—
These two are strong, but stronger yet the third,—
Obedience, the great tap-root, that still,
Knit round the rock of Duty, is not stirred,
Though the storm's ploughshare spend its utmost skill.

"Is the doom sealed for Hesper? 'Tis not we
Denounce it, but the Law before all time:
The brave makes danger opportunity;
The waverer, paltering with the chance sublime,
Dwarfs it to peril: which shall Hesper be?

"Hath he let vultures climb his eagle's seat
To make Jove's bolts purveyors of their maw?
Hath he the Many's plaudits found more sweet
Than wisdom? held Opinion's wind for law?
Then let him hearken for the headsman's feet!

"Rough are the steps, slow-hewn in flintiest rock,
States climb to power by; slippery those with gold
Down which they stumble to eternal mock:
No chafferer's hand shall long the sceptre hold,
Who, given a Fate to shape, would sell the block.

"We sing old sagas, songs of weal and woe,
Mystic because too cheaply understood;
Dark sayings are not ours; men hear and know,
See Evil weak, see only strong the Good,
Yet hope to balk Doom's fire with walls of tow.

"Time Was unlocks the riddle of Time Is,
That offers choice of glory and of gloom;
The solver makes Time Shall Be surely his.—
But hasten, Sisters! for even now the tomb
Grates its slow hinge and calls from the abyss."

"But not for him," I cried, "not yet for him,
Whose large horizon, westering, star by star
Wins from the void to where on ocean's rim
The sunset shuts the world with golden bar,—
Not yet his thews shall fail, his eye grow dim!

"His shall be larger manhood, saved for those
That walk unblenching through the trial-fires;
Not suffering, but faint heart is worst of woes,
And he no base-born son of craven sires,
Whose eye need droop, confronted with his foes.

"Tears may be ours, but proud, for those who win
Death's royal purple in the enemy's lines:
Peace, too, brings tears; and 'mid the battle-din,
The wiser ear some text of God divines;
For the sheathed blade may rust with darker sin.

"God, give us peace!—not such as lulls to sleep,
But sword on thigh, and brow with purpose knit!
And let our Ship of State to harbor sweep,
Her ports all up, her battle-lanterns lit,
And her leashed thunders gathering for their leap!"

So said I, with clenched hands and passionate pain,
Thinking of dear ones by Potomac's side:
Again the loon laughed, mocking; and again
The echoes bayed far down the night, and died,
While, waking, I recalled my wandering brain.

From the Cambridge Chronicle.

WHAT DOST THOU HERE?

BY C. F. O.

The voice of the Lord to the wilderness came,
"Elijah! what doest thou here?"
And the prophet arose at the terrible sound,
And came forth from the cavern of fear.
"What doest thou here? The Lord has his need,
And to flee from his service is vain;
Arise, and return, and the monarchs anoint
Over Syria and Israel to reign.
The prophet anoint who shall stand in thy place,
Thy mantle cast over his head,
For the wrath of the Lord is abroad in the land,
The wicked shall faint with their dread.
Who escapes from the sword of Hazael, before
The sword of fierce Jehu shall quail,
And Elisha the remnant shall utterly slay,
Who have bowed to the worship of Baal."

The Angel of God stands and calls us to-day;
Come forth, for the battle is here,
And the conflict at hand with oppression and wrong,
And the forces of evil draw near.
They would trample down justice and truth in the land,
With fetters would chain up the right,
And smother the life-breath of Liberty out
With the ruffianly grasp of their might.
Arise from the couch of your indolent ease!
Shake off the cold palsy of fear!
Arise from your dreams and your greed and your gold!
For the Angel of God standeth here.
The prophet-age coming this age must anoint,—
Gird your loins, make no laggard delay,
And think not to hide, for the Lord calls the roll,
He musters his armies to-day.

AUTUMN.

The melancholy days are come,
The saddest of the year;
Of wailing winds, and naked woods,
And meadows brown and sere.

Selections.

THE NEW YORK HERALD.

From the secession of South Carolina to the fall of Sumter, the *Herald* outdid all the journals of the South in its advocacy of the Southern rebellion. It justified it as a wise and necessary defence against the anti-slavery sentiment of the Republican party and of certain Northern men, precisely as it now clamors for the arrest and incarceration of the same men for presuming to form a judgment upon a system which has well-nigh proved our national ruin. It endeavored to bring up public opinion to the point of acknowledging the independence of the Southern Confederacy. It labored to bring about a compromise with the rebels by demanding that everything they asked for should be granted. It denounced any measure of coercion, any attempt to enforce the laws, and insisted that our troops should be withdrawn from Southern forts. It never ceased in its abuse of Mr. Lincoln and his Administration, declaring again and again in these terms and in similar language, that the people "would hold it to a bitter responsibility for the shameful imbecility and fanaticism with which it was betraying the interests of the country." It appealed to the people of the North, and especially to the capitalists of this city, of Boston, and of Philadelphia, to stop the wheels of Government by refusing to lend it a dollar, that it might be thus coerced into yielding to the South all that it demanded at the point of the bayonet, and be compelled to compound a peace. It comforted the South, and threatened the North with the dire calamity of a divided North, and a consequent bloody civil war among ourselves. It predicted the ruin that was to visit us by the overthrow of all our trade, which would be removed to Southern cities to flourish under a Southern tariff. It declared that the North-West would thus be seduced by their interest from their allegiance, and would desert the Government and the Union for the sake of free goods smuggled in under the Confederate tariff. It denounced any attempt at a blockade of our ports as illegal and impossible. It threatened the country with an acknowledgment of the Southern Confederacy by the great Powers of Europe, declaring that it was certain to be made before the middle of the year—July last. And above all, it urged that the bastard Constitution, conceived and brought forth at Montgomery, was so much superior to the Federal Constitution that it should be substituted for it, declaring that it would be accepted by the Northern people by an overwhelming majority. Nor did it do each one of these things once, but all of them many times. From the moment of the secession of South Carolina up to the 16th of April, when there was a mass meeting at the corner of Nassau and Fulton streets, for the special enlightenment—either one way or another—of the *Herald* establishment, that paper was uniform and persistent in its devotion to the cause of the insurrectionists, using all its ingenuity and ability, all its industry and power, to the one sole end and aim of establishing the rebellion upon the ruin of the Government and the degradation of the Northern people. Day after day, week after week, month after month, the *Herald* was consistent and earnest, and in its desire for the consummation of treason and the overthrow of the institutions of a free people, sometimes forgot its frivolity and flippancy, and in the devout sincerity of its purpose was even occasionally decent for a day or two together.

It would be easy to fill several columns with extracts to show that all we have here said is true to the letter; that it reiterated again and again its prophecies of the utter ruin, commercial and political, of the North, and the complete success of the rebellion; and that, to insure the fulfilment of these prophecies, it piled up, month after month, argument, persuasion, and menace, trusting to that great influence which it assumes to hold over the public mind to justify its wisdom and its forethought. Over a door to an inner office in that establishment was draped a Secession flag, as a preliminary to a display of the whole set from its windows, provided for that happy moment when New York, led by the *Herald*, should rise in revolt, and declare its adherence to the Southern rebellion. It would be easy, we say, to prove all this by page upon page of evidence from its own columns, and to show how it abounded with absurd forewarnings and dangerous appeals. But, as the greater includes the less, we shall content ourselves with a few significant passages advocating the adoption of the Montgomery Constitution as a substitute for the Federal Constitution, and the entire submission of the North to the usurpation of Jeff. Davis.

On Sunday last the *Herald* said: "There are few journals which have been so steady in their *devotion to the great constitutional principles* on which our institutions are based;" and "as to changing our mind on MINOR QUESTIONS OF POLICY when the circumstances of the times call for it, our readers need not be told that it is our habit to do so." We will turn to the file for March to see the character of that "devotion," and to learn what the *Herald* esteems "minor questions of policy."

On Sunday, the 17th of March last, exactly seven months ago, the *Herald* said:—

"Now, by the unanimous adoption of the new Constitution by the Southern Congress, the President, the Secretary of State and the Republican party, know *what the South wants*; and as there is nothing *unreasonable in their demands*, and as nothing less will satisfy the Southern States, the *best course* for the Border States, and all other States, North and South, to pursue, is to ADOPT THIS INSTRUMENT OF RECONSTRUCTION." * * *

The leading article of the *Herald* of March 19th is entitled "The Ultimatum of the South—What Ought the Administration to Do?" And it proceeds to tell its readers what, in most emphatic terms, beginning thus:—

"Mr. Lincoln and his advisers have, at length, an opportunity of throwing off the *selfishness, fanaticism, and suicidal imbecility* which have, so far, characterized the course of the present Administration, and of taking measures which cannot fail to secure a reconstruction of the Union within a limited period. The adoption by the Montgomery Congress of a Constitution is equivalent to a manifesto to the rest of the country, of the precise wants of the people of the seceding States. It may be regarded as the ultimatum of the South to the North, and as the *only* basis upon which the former will *consent to negotiate* with those WHOSE YOKE THEY HAVE RECENTLY THROWN OFF."

And the *Herald* then proceeds to show that this ultimatum is one which should be accepted by the North, for, it says:—

"There is *no point of difference* between the Constitution of the United States and that which has been adopted by the Southern Confederacy, in which *the provisions of the latter are not an improvement upon the former.*"

And again:—

"There is *no* part of it which cannot be consistently adopted by the North, and which will not commend itself to sober-minded, conservative citizens in the non-slaveholding portion of the Union, * * * and if submitted to the people of *all* the States, there is no question that it *would be acceded to by three-quarters of their whole number.*"

Such was the gauge the *Herald* took in March of the patriotism of the Northern people, and of their loyalty to the Constitution and the Union bequeathed them by their fathers. Another article in the same paper was devoted to a careful analysis of this Montgomery Constitution, which we were urged to adopt, with its "very important and most desirable improvements" on the old one, but which the Northern people have since thought it worth while, in spite of the *Herald*, to do something to defend. Its provisions in regard to slavery it put first "in the order of their importance," as follows:—

1. That African slavery in the Territories shall be *recognized and protected* by Congress and the Territorial Legislatures.
2. That the right to slaveholders of *transit* and SOJOURN in any State of the Confederacy, *with their slaves* and other property, shall be *recognized and respected.*
3. That the provision in regard to fugitive slaves shall extend to any slave *lawfully carried* from one State into another, and *there* escaping or taken away from his master.

We hardly need point out to the reader, that these propositions would legalize slavery all over the Union, permitting the slaveholder to reside where he pleased with his slaves, and setting aside, on his behalf, every law of the free States protecting the rights of a freeman. This the *Herald* labored to prove was the only basis on which the Union could be reconstructed, for, it said:—

"The constitution and law-makers of the Confederate States, and the people thereof, are really in earnest in this business, and have not the remotest idea of coming back under the existing Constitution and Government of the United States, upon any terms or any *tinkering* compromises whatever."

On the 20th of March the leading article of the *Herald* was entitled: "The Ultimatum of the South—Necessity of its Indorsement by *the City of New York.*" The adoption of the Constitution of the Southern Confederacy it pronounced a "cheering event," for the instrument was one admirably adapted "to the wants of the country in the present crisis," and "affording clear proof the skill, energy, and forethought, with which the Government of the new Republic are moulding its destinies." It again declared:—

"There is no point of difference between the Constitution of 1789, and that framed by the Congress at Montgomery, in which the *provisions of the latter are not an improvement upon the former.*"

But it improved upon this text, and appealed to the people of this city to begin the good work of inaugurating Northern insurrection and accepting service under Jeff. Davis and his fellow conspirators. It said:—

"The new Constitution is, in fact, the olive-branch which the South holds out to the North; and *whatever course may be pursued by the Lincoln Administration*, it is the *duty* of the people of *this city* to signify, with promptness, *their* readiness to accept it. * * * * Before six weeks it might be submitted to the popular vote, and would *undoubtedly be accepted by over three-fourths of the States.* * * * * It is especially necessary that the conservative *masses of this metropolis* SHOULD TAKE THE LEAD in endorsing the Constitution which the Confederate States of the South have adopted, and *of signifying their willingness to acquiesce in the same.*"

In two other articles in the *Herald* of March 20th the same policy—of its "minor questions of policy"—is advocated. The "masses" are appealed to; the "leading conservative men of the metropolis" are appealed to; the President is appealed to to convene Congress, and Congress is appealed to; and the West is appealed to; all to save the country by the adoption of the Montgomery Constitution. And finally a last appeal is made to the whole country thus:—

"The Southern Confederacy has A MIGHTY DESTINY before it, and the only way the Northern States can *share* it, and *be saved from ruin, is by adopting the new Constitution.*"

Is this enough? We think so. The *Herald* got its answer by-and-by; and from the time the "masses" paid it that memorable visit, to show how profoundly they had been moved by its labors on behalf of the Jeff. Davis conspiracy, how completely they were under the control and influence of that journal—from that time to now, the "masses," and "conservative leaders," the great "metropolis," the West, the East, in short the whole country, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Canada line to Mason and Dixon's, have given their estimate of the *Herald's* advice. And if there be anybody who believes that it does anything more than attempt to throw a flimsy disguise over these opinions now in its persistent efforts to sow discord, to arouse disturbances, to goad the Government to some rash act of foolish oppression, and to excite everywhere jealousies and prejudices that may lead to scenes of strife, then such person is possessed of a degree of credulity that is almost incredible.—*New York Tribune.*

MR. BEECHER ON FREMONT AND CONTRABANDS.

On Sabbath morning the following remarks of the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher were made, not in the sermon, but upon giving out a notice of meetings of ladies in the congregation, for the purpose of providing hospital stores for our armies, and particularly with reference to furnishing stores for the hospitals of St. Louis:—

"The poor West seems destined to neglect. We remember the fate of Kansas, when the cause of liberty was imperiled there. And now, in turn, the same cause hangs in suspense in Missouri. When right and justice are to be established, it would almost seem as if that were a reason for our Government to disown them. And I cannot but express my solemn conviction that both our Government, and in a still greater degree the community, have done great injustice to the cause in Missouri, in the treatment which has been bestowed on that noble man, Gen. Fremont. I have narrowly watched the course of things, not unacquainted with the reality of facts in the case; and it is my settled judgment that, partly from private ambition, partly from political reasons, and partly from calculating aspirations of rivals, the most unjust influences have been permitted to issue against this heroic man. My faith in his administrative ability is not a whit less than in 1856. For aught that we can see, he is second in military capacity to none of the able generals that are now serving their country. It has wisely been thought not fit for public journals to criticise the administration of our generals, or the plans of the Administration, in advance, nor until the whole results have been disclosed. It is impossible for men remote from the field, ignorant of the mingled political and military reasons that shape conduct, ignorant of the trials and difficulties, of the limitations and restraints of armies, to judge correctly, or criticise justly. But why is this moderation observed toward Gen. McClellan, and toward Gen. Anderson, in Kentucky, and his successors, but vociferously violated in the single instance of Gen. Fremont? For the Army of the Potomac no stint is given to means and implements. Missouri, if not neglected, is yet tardily supplied with a penurious hand. Every step is made matter of many-voiced criticism, in a spirit that shows that there is a foregone judgment, and that men are anxious to find reasons for purposes which they have already formed. Either let Gen. Fremont alone to work out the proper results of his campaign, or, if it is proper to subject him, at each step, to such abusive investigation and report, let the same liberty be indulged in the case of our other Generals. Not one word of the Army of the Potomac, and its noble leader; not one word of the Army of Western Virginia, and its indefatigable and cautious General; not one word of the management of affairs in Kentucky, under the administration of the noble Anderson, who has laid his health upon the altar of fidelity to his country; but against Fremont incessant, insidious, and unreasonable complaint. It is a shame; and there ought to be an indignation in the community that shall bring this trifling with the public interests committed to this man's hands to an end. His field is larger than that of any other army. His means are less. He has had neither the sympathy nor the help that he had a right to expect. And if this campaign shall fail in his hands, it is my solemn conviction that the public interests will have been sacrificed for the sake of putting out of the way a dangerous rival."

In the evening, prefacing a collection for the American Missionary Association, which was to be specifically employed for the religious and secular instruction of the 1,800 emancipated slaves in and around Fortress Monroe, Mr. Beecher said:—

"Gen. Butler called them 'contrabands,' and all people seemed relieved, and snapped at the expression as if it was a very felicitous thing. My friends, it is one of the great disadvantages of the position in which the North are placed that they dare not say *Freemen* and *Liberty* in this conflict. The South have this particular advantage: that they know that they are fighting for slavery, and say so. They are not complicated in that regard. Their issue is simple; and, though selfish and monstrous, they have the advantage which comes from simplicity and from manly frankness. The North are in a position in which they do not dare to say that they are fighting for liberty. We *are*. We are not fighting directly for emancipation; but we are fighting for that Constitution and for those institutions which we believe will inevitably bring liberty, in the process of time. I am well aware of the embarrassments in which Government is placed. I would not say a word, nor exert an influence, to complicate matters, or make their fearful responsibility more onerous. I would lighten their hands by every just, generous sentiment, and every charitable construction; but I must be allowed, and I think it is proper and right, to say, that it is not inconsistent with the soundest policy, and with the truest construction of duty, for the President, for the members of his cabinet, and for the generals of the army, to say that they shall give every constitutional advantage in this struggle to liberty, and that the animus with which they go forth is the maintenance of constitutional laws, because they embody essentially the spirit of liberty. Every attempt to dodge, and equivocate, and get around this question; every attempt to be sensitive in favor of slavery, and to make allowance in that direction, is very bad policy, to say nothing about justice and higher considerations. And we never shall carry this conflict victoriously through until men cease to have the sacred words of liberty stick in their throat, and make long circuits and periphrases when they come to that question; and I thank God that there is one man who dares to speak out upon it. That man, with whose name the cause of liberty was so intimately associated in the campaign of 1856, seems destined still to be identified with the progress of that sacred cause. He alone, of all our generals, seems to have had that far-seeing wisdom which springs from the very spirit and love of liberty. How simple and clear are his utterances. He alone dares to call slaves by their own odious name—*slaves*—a word which the Constitution would not utter, and which men sensitive of shame do not love to speak. He alone has declared that the slaves of men found in arms against their country shall become freemen. Mark it: Not, with verbal dexterity, 'contrabands;' not men without name, anomalous, nondescript; but, as if inspired from on high with the very spirit of religion, and acting according to its most undoubted inspirations, Fremont has declared that slaves shall become free men. The heart and conscience of the whole North responded to that touch. Therefore Fremont will never be forgiven."—*Ibid.*

THE GREAT QUESTION.

The great business of this country being to put down the present slaveholding rebellion, the question, How to put it down? is always in order for discussion, and cannot be kept out of sight and hearing by any agreement whatever. When we are told that we must yield to the Administration, and to its method of carrying on the war, we readily assent. We *must* yield to it; we *do* cheerfully, cordially and earnestly support all its measures for carrying on the war. It should have all the money and all the men it wants, and it should not be embarrassed by unfriendly and captious criticism. But when we are told that the Administration has definitely pronounced, once for all, against the policy of making use of the negroes, free and slave, as a weapon of war, we answer, first, by denying the statement, and, second, that even if its present policy tends that way, there is no certainty and no probability that it is so wedded to its theories or so embarrassed by its acts that its policy cannot be changed. Almost every man says he is ready for emancipation in case the war cannot be brought to a successful end without it. If the Republic or slavery has got to go to the wall, they say, let slavery go. They refuse, however, to admit the emergency. Probably the Administration now does the same. Very well; the question is one of opinion and fact. We don't deny that possibly the rebellion may be crushed without freeing the negroes. But we are and always have been for a short war. The present condition of affairs doubtless has its charms for contractors and adventurers; but the people, especially the business community, prefer a condition of peace, and will demand that the rebels shall be put down as speedily and as effectually as possible. If emancipation is the speediest and most effectual way, the people will sooner or later find it out. There is nothing in the history or the present position of the Administration which leads us to suppose that its modification of Gen. Fremont's proclamation is anything more than an indication of its policy toward Kentucky; perhaps its temporary policy there. It is obliged to deal with questions as they arise, and the events of a week or a day may induce or compel a sudden and absolute change of ground. Some new aspect of the contest, some new disaster, perhaps, may precipitate upon us the question of emancipation for immediate solution; and the New York *Herald* may be compelled to change front upon it again as suddenly as it has done within the last two months. The history of this war, on the part of both Government and people, is little more than a record of the discovery of mistakes and the rectification of blunders. Nobody is to blame. The press which supposed that the rebellion was a mere continuation of the system of bullying by which the South had always won its victories, and the statesmen who fancied it could be quelled by patiently waiting thirty, sixty, or ninety days, were equally honest, but have been proved equally mistaken.

Among the most pernicious blunders which have embarrassed our warlike operations, has been the blunder of underrating the strength of the rebels. As a matter of course, we have overrated the strength of the loyal States. In estimating the strength of the Confederate States, we have regarded slaves as an element of weakness, assuming the truth of the old adage, "so many slaves, so many enemies," and forgetting that they can never be the enemies of their masters until they are treated as friends by us; that at best, in their present position, they are but neutrals, and as such, an element of neither weakness nor strength to the enemy; and that, from the moment that our refusal to recognize them as allies, or the desperate necessities of the rebellion, compels the Confederate Government to appeal to them for help, slavery becomes an element of positive and terrible strength.

By a table prepared for the American Almanac of 1861, by Mr. Kennedy, the Superintendent of the Census, it appears that the free population of all the States, not including the District of Columbia or the Territories, was, in 1860, 27,280,070. Of this number, the free States had 18,831,329; the slave States, 8,448,741. The entire slave population was 3,999,765. Counting the slaves as neutral, the relative strength of the two sections, without estimating the difference as to the means and appliances of war, is represented by their free populations respectively, viz.: as 18 8-10 to 8 4-10. Adding the slaves to the free population of the South, either as laborers, supporting the whites, or as combatants (and they are already acting in the former capacity, and sooner or later will be in both,) and the relative proportions are as 18 8-10 to 12 4-10. Adding the slaves to the population of the North, the proportions are 22 8-10 to 8 4-10.

Mr. Hickman's proposition seemed simple and feasible. Eighteen millions can overpower eight millions. It was based on the supposition of the neutrality of the slaves. This is a delusion now, and will prove a greater and more fearful delusion as the war proceeds. It is *now* practically eighteen millions to twelve millions. But we may better Mr. Hickman's formula, and make it twenty-two millions to eight millions, or thereabout, if we please. To one complexion or the other it must come at last. However anxious our Government may be to protect the Union men of the Border States, without requiring anything of them in return, except that they shall allow our troops to guard their farms, henroosts, and slave-pens, Jeff. Davis will allow no neutrality in *his* dominions. This war will up-turn the foundations of Southern Society, and every man, woman, and child must take part, on one side or the other. The four millions of irrepressible Africans *must* work and fight on one side or the other; and, if not allowed to work and fight for us, they will work and fight against us.

Now let us look at some further deductions from Mr. Kennedy's tables. Slaves between the ages of fifteen and sixty are regarded as able-bodied, for working or fighting. There were, in 1850, between these ages, 815,425 male slaves. In 1860, calculating the increase in the same proportion as the increase of the whole slave population, there were 1,019,281. Every one of these men is now at work, supporting the families of the rebel soldiers, or performing the exhausting labor of the trenches and the drudgery of the camp, which Northern "mudsills," in our armies, have to do for themselves. In Maryland, there are 22,000 of these able-bodied male slaves. There were in Virginia, in 1850, 121,564 able-bodied male slaves: to-day there are 126,000, and 14,000 able-bodied *free* colored men—140,000 men helping support the Rebel armies, if not actually helping to constitute the Rebel armies. Supposing we permitted them to work for us? or supposing we should welcome them within our lines, instead of sending them back to report of our flag that it is the emblem of oppression, and of our Eagle; that for the poor slave his bones are brass and his feathers are iron? How long in such a case, would Beauregard flaunt the rattlesnake flag in sight of the White House? There are 53,322 of the same class in Kentucky; 69,358 in Tennessee; and in both States, 4,100 able-bodied free colored men. Total, in both States, 126,000. What? Allies or enemies? Every one of them is a Union man, and, if we choose to have him so, a fighter for the Union. North Carolina has 78,000 of the same class, besides 5,000 free colored men; South Carolina, 104,000 of both classes; Georgia, 115,000; Alabama, 111,900; Mississippi, 124,000; Louisiana, 99,100; and Missouri, 27,750. These figures, compiled with care, show the strength of this class in the Border, Atlantic, and Gulf States. On which side, at each point of landing, shall this immense force fight and work?—*Ibid.*

☞ The capture of the New York brig Granada, by the privateer Sallie, off Charleston, adds to the apprehension felt by ship owners in regard to these freebooters. The war risk was not inserted in the policy of the Grenada, so she is a total loss.

ST. PATRICK ON SLAVERY.

To the Editor of the New York Tribune:

SIR,—In your article, "The Clergy on War," many were pleased to see the testimony of St. Anselm of the eleventh century. Allow me to present one 600 years before his, an authority which our Hibernian friends will duly appreciate, and very justly so. The venerable apostle of Ireland left but two well authenticated compositions, and one of these was really a tract or a general epistle against slavery. The occasion of it was this:—

Coroticus, a British chieftain, though professing Christianity, made a descent upon the coast of Ireland, and carried off, and sold to the Picts, a number of converts whom St. Patrick had recently baptized. He immediately dispatched a messenger to the slave-dealer, requiring that he should instantly release the captives and return them home. The requisition, however, was treated with neglect or contempt; whereupon St. Patrick, styling himself a "Bishop, and established in Ireland," thus proclaimed:—"To all that fear God—these marauders and robbers are excommunicated and estranged from Christ; and it is not lawful to show them any civility, nor to eat or drink with them, nor to receive their offerings, until they have sincerely repented and made atonement, and *liberated* those servants and handmaids of Christ." And he further required all the faithful, into whose hands this epistle might fall, "to get it and read it before the people everywhere, and, if possible, to Coroticus himself, and communicate it to his soldiers, in the hope that they might return to God." [Lanigan Eccles. Hist. I., p. 297; Moore's History of Ireland, p. 118.] D. D. V.

Morrisania, N. Y.

PROGRESS OF DESPOTISM.

"It being necessary to form a ticket of Electors, and the time being too short to call a Convention of the people, it was suggested that the Richmond editors should prepare a ticket, thus relieving the people of the trouble of making selections. The ticket thus formed has been presented. Among the names we find those of Wm. L. Goggin of Bedford, and R. T. Daniel of Richmond; E. H. Fitzhugh of Ohio county; John R. Edmunds of Halifax, and C. W. Newton of Norfolk City. Every district in the State is embraced in this editorial report."

The above precious morsel is among our latest news from the rebel capital. It will be remembered that Mr. Russell, in some of his earlier letters, told us how the ruling classes of the South had resolved to disfranchise the people, when their slave empire was established. We did not expect to see this consummation reached so quickly. But events move rapidly, in these fast times. Already the people of the South begin to murmur portentously at the gross deception that has been put upon them. Instead of European recognition, a prosperous independence, and plenty of free niggers—they begin to realize how harshly war is using them, and how dreary the prospect ahead. Under this state of things, with a powerful army ready to overwhelm in front, and vast fleets hovering upon their flank, it might be dangerous to intrust the sacred right of suffrage to the deceived and discontented masses. The rulers might, by such a course, suddenly find their kingdom falling from under their feet, and their schemes of towering ambition terminated at the end of a dangling cord. So the aristocratic editors of Richmond, by order of the leading conspirators, determine that there is no time to call a convention, and therefore proceed to put an electoral ticket in nomination themselves, which the people are graciously permitted to go through the form of ratifying. If this rebellion last much longer, the common people may find that they are no longer free American citizens, but the serfs of a slaveholding oligarchy—and the ravings of Southern rhetoricians, that capital should own its labor, may be by them sadly realized.—*Tribune.*

SAY NOTHING ABOUT SLAVERY. Suppose the Fugitive States had absconded upon the Tariff question? Or the public land question? Or a question of Representative apportionment? Would political justice, or even political expediency, which is something meaner, have demanded of us anything so irrational as debate without reference or allusion to the subject-matter of debate? What moralist rebukes a sinner, and yet spares his easily besetting sin? Slavery has seceded; taken up arms; engaged in a wicked and unnatural rebellion; yet slavery is just that which we are not to mention, and much less discuss. Thus a writer in a New-England newspaper, whose eyes are in the back part of his head, complains that "the fertile fields of the South are to be deluged in blood, and all this to carry out the one idea of Abolitionism." Sagacious censor! Suppose we reverse his proposition and say that "the fertile fields of the South are to be deluged in blood, and all this to carry out the one idea of slavery." Would not this be as near the truth, and perhaps nearer? Why will not these "O-no-we'll-never-mention-it" gentlemen see that *they* are as garrulous about slavery as the veriest Immediate Abolitionist?—*Ibid.*

THE QUAKERS SUPPORTING THE WAR.

The Quakers who live on the Maryland western shore and in the neighboring parts of Pennsylvania and Virginia, have just had their yearly meeting, and have adopted an address giving to the members of the Society the following advice:—

"In the present condition of civil society, government is indispensable for the security of life and the preservation of property, and, therefore, all who enjoy the benefits of government should contribute to defray the expenses of its administration, conducted in such way as those selected for that responsible duty shall think it right and proper to administer it. If every one were to contribute to the expenses of those acts only which he approves, the government could not be maintained, and anarchy and confusion, with all their hurtful consequences, must necessarily ensue. There would be a great difficulty, too, if not an impossibility, in consistently making the refusal, inasmuch as duties on many articles in use are laid for precisely the same object. The true position of Friends in the civil community is, to be quiet, peaceable citizens, under whatever government is established over them, cheerfully obeying all laws with which they can conscientiously comply; and as they are found to do this, greater respect will be paid to their scruples for non-compliance with those laws which they cannot obey, and against which the grounds of their testimony can be made more obviously manifest."

STILL ANOTHER SLAVER.

One after another the masters and mates who have been most actively engaged in the slave trade from this port have been captured and confined by Marshal Murray. Time was when it was the rarest thing in the world that a slaver was taken, but with Rynders that state of things passed away, and now hardly a week passes without the arrest of some of these piratical gentry. On Sunday, William Garnett, mate of the slaver Buckeye, was arrested by Deputy Marshal Anderson, on warrants issued in the usual way. Mr. Murray has been in search of this culprit for more than a month, but without success, until the officer chanced to meet him as he was crossing one of the ferries to Brooklyn. On being taken to Police Headquarters, he was confronted with the United States Marshal. Garnett asked, in the most innocent manner possible, on what charge he had been arrested. And when asked if he was not the mate of the Buckeye, he blandly replied that he did not know there was any such vessel. "Ah!" said the Marshal, "that is really unfortunate; but perhaps our course of treatment for a few days will refresh your memory. It is a remarkable fact, I notice, that you slaver chaps have very short memories. Several, however, have wonderfully improved in this respect after two or three days of Dr. Sutton's treatment." So Mr. Garnett, like many other precious gems, was locked up securely for safe-keeping. Yesterday morning he had a glimmering recollection that there *was* such a vessel as the Buckeye; but as to his having been mate a-board, that was all misty and confused. Perhaps by this day week—or say, for instance, when he sees the half-dozen witnesses the Marshal has to confront him with—his former official connection with the vessel in question may be more clearly defined in his mind.

The Buckeye cleared from this port for one of the West India islands, but *en route* slipped over to the coast of Africa—which lay too handy to resist the chance—and got a full cargo of negroes, which was safely disposed of to Cuban speculators. Her Captain—the man Booth, who was recently arrested, and is now being examined—came back to New York with a clear conscience and a pocket full of money, neither of which, unfortunately, are likely to avail him in his present predicament.

The Marshal yesterday arrested fifteen of the crew of the slaver Nightingale, on board the storeship Relief, of the African squadron. These men served on the Nightingale, and, upon her seizure, they were put on the storeship, their places being supplied by a prize crew. On the arrival of the Relief, at this port, they were taken into custody, and are now locked up for trial.—*N. Y. Tribune, Oct.* 15.

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THIS is a new style, first class, double thread, Family Machine, made and licensed under the patents of Howe, Wheeler & Wilson, and Grover & Baker, and its construction is the best combination of the various patents owned and used by these parties, and the patents of the Parker Sewing Company. They were awarded a *Silver Medal* at the last Fair of the Mechanics' Charitable Association, and are the best finished and most substantially made Family Machines now in the market.

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Report of the Judges of the last Fair of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association.

"FOUR PARKER'S SEWING MACHINES. This Machine is so constructed that it embraces the combinations of the various patents owned and used by Elias Howe, Jr., Wheeler & Wilson, and Grover & Baker, for which these parties pay tribute. These, together with Parker's improvements, make it a beautiful Machine. They are sold from $40 to $120 each. They are very perfect in their mechanism, being adjusted before leaving the manufactory, in such a manner that they cannot get deranged. The feed, which is a very essential point in a good Machine, is simple, positive and complete. The apparatus for gusging the length of stitch is very simple and effective. The tension, as well as other parts, is well arranged. There is another feature which strikes your committee favorably, viz: there is no wheel below the table between the standards, to come in contact with the dress of the operator, and therefore no danger from oil or dirt. This machine makes the double look-stitch, but is so arranged that it lays the ridge upon the back quite flat and smooth, doing away, in a great measure, with the objection sometimes urged on that account."

ST. MARY'S LAKE

WATER-CURE.

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H. A. PETERMAN, M. D.

THE Proprietors of this Institution take pleasure in announcing to the invalids of Michigan and its neighboring States, that they have opened their WATER-CURE at St. Mary's Lake, and are now in readiness to receive patients.

This Institution is situated in one of the most healthy and pleasant locations in the State, on the banks of a beautiful little lake, four miles North of the City of Battle Creek.

The buildings are new, commodious, and furnished for the comfort and convenience of invalids. The bath-rooms are large, and fitted up with hot, cold, vapor, chemical, and electrical baths.

The lake, whose waters are as clear and soft as those of a spring from the granite mountain's base, is well supplied with boats and bath-houses. No more beautiful fresh water bathing can be found in any land.

Several hundred acres of the grand Old Oak Forest, immediately surrounding the lake, have been reserved for pleasure-grounds.

The afflicted, requiring surgical treatment, will find this a most desirable establishment, where they can be placed in the best possible condition to bear an operation, and receive the best of care afterwards.

Particular attention given to the treatment of diseases of the Eye. All operations performed that warrant a prospect of restoring sight to the blind. Our treatment for Cataract is entirely new, and in advance of anything hitherto known.

A supply of beautiful *Artificial Eyes* kept constantly on hand.

Paralysis, and every variety of Nervous and Chronic diseases, will be treated.

The Ladies' Department is under the care of Mrs. S. A. Peterman, whose long experience in the treatment of the diseases incident to the female constitution renders her treatment unsurpassed by that of any physician now practising in that department of the medical profession.

There will be a competent Music Teacher in attendance, to give instruction in Piano, Guitar, and Vocal Music, to such as may wish to take medical treatment and pursue the study of Music at the same time. For such, this will be found a most desirable location, where the mental and physical systems may both be developed; the one in the music room, the other in rambling through the leafy woods, in the Gymnasium, and in boat-rowing, than which no better exercise can be found.

We intend, with the aid of competent help in every department, to make *this* CURE the invalid's HOME, as well as a place for medical treatment.

Those coming as patients should furnish themselves with two comfortables, two linen or cotton packing sheets, one woollen blanket, and one half-dozen bath towels, or they can be furnished by the CURE at fifty cents per week extra.

TERMS—From $7 to $10 per week, for treatment, board